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Utkuhikhalingmiut Eskimo Emotional Expression

By Jean Briggs

NSRG 68-2



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AUTHOR'S NOTE

Wherever discrepancies of fact or interpretation exist between this report and my book (soon to be published by Harvard University Press), it should be assumed that the book represents my latest information and thinking. This report was submitted before my return to Chantrey Inlet in 1968 and does not incorporate the findings of that second field trip, whereas the book was revised after my return from the field, in order to eliminate errors of which I became aware during the 1968 trip.

Jean L. Briggs

St. John's, Newfoundland
April, 1969

TYPOGRAPHICAL ERRORS

PAGE	LINE	FOR	READ
vii	21	<u>huruur</u>	<u>hujuujaq</u>
	22	<u>takshaungiiitua</u>	<u>takhaungngiitua</u>
	23	<u>ighi</u>	<u>ighi</u>
	25	<u>kannga</u>	<u>kanngu</u>
ix	16-17	...like the <u>o</u> in <u>pole</u> or like the <u>au</u> in <u>Paul</u>	...like the <u>e</u> in <u>bed</u>
	18	-----	<u>u</u> : like the <u>u</u> in <u>pool</u> , except that before and after <u>q</u> and <u>r</u> it is pronounced like the <u>o</u> in <u>pole</u> or like the <u>au</u> in <u>Paul</u>
xi	3 of footnote	BEH	BEH
2	19	nearly	partly
3	16	<u>qaqmaqs</u>	<u>qaqmat</u>
6	41	<u>naiak</u>	<u>najak</u>
7	11	<u>tamazsrutik</u>	<u>tamajrutik</u>
8	9	<u>ilagitt</u>	<u>ilagitt</u>
9	43	Kuutiq	Kuuttig
10	1	a	as
	11	occasionnally	occasionally
	13	...to the description of...	...to the preceding description of...
	14	DELETE: in Appendix I	-----
12	16	Also	Again
	1	inglus	iglus

TYPOGRAPHICAL ERRORS - p. 2

PAGE	LINE	FOR	READ
12	4	Balickci	Balikci
	8	inelus	iglus
14	23	<u>naklipallaak</u>	<u>nakliguhukpaallaak</u>
	29	...(hujuujaq) I sleep badly.	...(hujuujaq). I sleep badly.
	32	lonelines	loneliness
15	25	inaminate	inanimate
	47	<u>nutaraksirug</u>	<u>nutaraqhijuq</u>
16	8	and	an
17	10	exlusively	exclusively
	22	<u>naklingnaqloangiftug</u>	<u>naklingnacluangngiitug</u>
	25	bahavior	behavior
18	25	offended	offender
	43	lifht.	light,
20	41	then	them
21	3	fell	feel
23	29	suaq-	suäk-
	35	converstional	conversational
26	28	<u>uruluruq</u>	<u>urulujuq</u>
	29	Uruluruq	Urulujuq
	40	<u>uruluruq</u>	<u>urulujuq</u>
27	2	<u>urulu(rug)</u>	<u>urulu(jug)</u>
	33	Engligh	English

TYPOGRAPHICAL ERRORS - p. 3

PAGE	LINE	FOR	READ
28	1	Novertheless	Nevertheless
29	2 of footnote	<u>quini</u>	<u>quinak</u>
31	4	thay	that
32	42	<u>illira'd</u>	<u>ilira'd</u>
34	26	<u>huqutikssalaituq</u>	<u>huqutikhalaittuq</u>
	28	<u>huqutikssaktuq</u>	<u>huqutikhaktuq</u>
	37	paints	pains
35	15	distrubances	disturbances
	23	Ujjiq	Ujjiqtuq
	1 of footnote	<u>soru) Erivaa</u>	<u>soru)(Erivaa</u>
	2 of footnote	<u>soquta ingnoicutluk</u>	<u>soqutaⁱngnoicutluk</u>
38	5	exclamation. "Urulunaq!"	exclamation "Urulunaq!"
39	26	exsit	exist
40	16	brother	bother
	41	lebelled	labelled
41	15	<u>ihumaqittuq</u>	<u>ihumakittuq</u>
	29	know	knew
	30	<u>ihumaqittuq</u>	<u>ihumakittuq</u>
	38	<u>ihumaqittuq</u>	<u>ihumakittuq</u>
42	21	though	thought
	39	<u>ihumaqittuq</u>	<u>ihumakittuq</u>

TYPOGRAPHICAL ERRORS - p. 4

PAGE	LINE	FOR	READ
42	42	guitly	guilty
	1 of footnote 3	Iglulirmiut	Ieluligmiut
	2 of footnote 3	<u>ihumagittuq</u>	<u>ihumakittuq</u>
43	9	symptoms	symptoms
	2 & 3 of footnote	DELETE the Rasmussen reference	-----
44	11	more	most
	22	recorgnize	recognize
45	18	had	has
46	32	thay	that
47	17	Ajuqshaktunga	Ajuqhaktunga
50	12	explicitly	explicitly
52	16	<u>ihumaqittuq</u>	<u>ihumakittuo</u>
53	28	you	your
	43	<u>ihumagittuq</u>	<u>ihumakittuq</u>
55	20	in	is
	22	<u>naiak</u>	<u>najak</u>
	25	DELETE: types of	-----
56	8	<u>nutarek</u>	<u>nutaraq</u>
	24	futher	further
	30	works	words
57	7	<u>naiak</u>	<u>najak</u>
	17	males	male

TYPOGRAPHICAL ERRORS - p. 5

PAGE	LINE	FOR	READ
57	18	<u>aqnaqshak</u>	<u>aqnaqhak</u>
	29	<u>-shak</u>	<u>-hak</u>
	1 of footnote	...the postbase <u>-shak</u> designates...	...the postbase <u>-shak</u> (here spelled <u>-hak</u>) designates...
59	10	naiak	najak
	14	nutarak	nutaraq
	16	inngutak	inngutaq
60	12	nutarak	nutaraq
	14	inngutak	inngutaq
61	3	aqnaqshak	aqnaqhak
	6	naiak	najak
62	3	aqnaqshak	aqnaqhak
63	9	ukkuavak iqniqshak	ukkuavak = iqniqhak
	9	panikshak ningauvak	panikhak = ningauvak
	10 - 11	WiSiSoWi/WiBrSoWi	[WiSiSoWi/WiBrSoWi]
	10 - 11	WiSiSo/WiBrSo	[WiSiSo/WiBrSo]
	10 - 11	WiSiDa/WiBrDa	[WiSiDa/WiBrDa]
	10 - 11	WiSiDaHu/WiBrDaHu	[WiSiDaHu/WiBrDaHu]
	12	all spouse's consanguines in 2nd descending generation	[all spouse's consanguines in 2nd descending generation]
	12	wives of spouse's consanguines in 2nd descending generation	[wives of spouse's consanguines in 2nd descending generation]
	12	inngutak ukkuavak	inngutaq = ukkuavak

TYPOGRAPHICAL ERRORS - p. 6

PAGE	LINE	FOR	READ
63	13	[husbands of spouse's consanguines in 2nd descending generation]	[husbands of spouse's consanguines in 2nd descending generation]
64	9	iqniqshak	iqniqhak
	9	panikshak	panikhak
	12	innqutak	innqutaq
65	10	Ipuitiq	Ipuituq
66	4	Allaq (36)	Allaq (35)
	6	Qiruk	Qijuk
	8	Qaiaq	Qajaq
	9	family (A).	family (A). ¹
	21	DELETE: and who appear in the thesis	-----
	26	-----	ADD: ¹ Extended family letters refer to Chart III.
67	4	Nigi	Niqi
68	4	Kavvik (65)	Kavvik (55)

UTKUHIKHALINGMIUT ESKIMO EMOTIONAL EXPRESSION

by

Jean L. Briggs

FOR INTERNAL DISTRIBUTION ONLY

This report is based on research carried out while the author was supported in part by the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre. The opinions expressed are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Department.

Her report is published by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development for internal distribution only. It will not be distributed to the general public at this time, but will form an appendix to a volume by Miss Briggs which will present a more widely-ranging description and analysis based on her field work among the Utkuhikhalingmiut Eskimos. Publication of the volume by Harvard University Press, 79 Garden Street, Cambridge, Mass., 02138, U.S.A., is planned for 1969, when it will be available to the general public.

Northern Science Research Group,
Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development,
Ottawa, June, 1968.



FOREWORD

This report is being made available for distribution to members of the government service working in the North in order that it may help them to understand some of the difficulties of communicating with Eskimo people whose emotional responses are quite different from their own in many situations.

While Miss Briggs' observations and conclusions are drawn from experience with one group of Eskimo people, many of the emotional patterns which she notes are common to much broader groupings. Although details may differ from group to group across the North, careful study of her analysis will provide an invaluable framework for the non-Eskimo person to begin systematic study of the particular group with whom he must communicate as a teacher, social worker, or in some allied role.

Miss Briggs has written with the general reader in mind, and technical terminology has been avoided wherever possible.

A. J. Kerr,
Chief,
Northern Science
Research Group.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
SPELLING AND PRONUNCIATION NOTE	ix
 INTRODUCTION	
Aims and Methods	xi
Organization of the Report	xii
 MAPS	
1. Central Canada.	xiv
2. The Area Known to the Utkuhikhalingmiut	xv
 CHAPTER I: THE BACKGROUND	
The Geographic Setting.	1
The Population	1
The Annual Cycle	1
History	3
The Structure of the Society	6
Interaction Patterns	10
 CHAPTER II: EMOTION CONCEPTS	
Affection: <i>unga; niviuq; akaak; nakli</i>	13
Kindness and Gratitude: <i>hatuq; quja</i>	21
Happiness: <i>quvia</i>	22
Hostility and Aggression: <i>huaq; ningaaq; qiquq; urulu; tuhuu; huruur</i>	22
Humor: <i>tipsi; takshaungiituaq</i>	28
Fear: <i>kappia; ighi; ilira</i>	31
Anxiety: <i>huqu; ujjiq</i>	33
Shyness: <i>kannga</i>	35
Loneliness: <i>hujuujaq</i>	36
Reason: <i>ihuma; nutaraqpaluktuaq; ajuqnaq</i>	39
 CHAPTER III: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	
The Ideal.	49
The Reality	49
 APPENDIX : Notes on Kinship Terminology and Family Composition	
Summary of Principles Inherent in the Consanguineal Terminology	55
Summary of Principles Inherent in the Affinal Terminology	56
Chart Ia: Consanguineal Kinship Terms: Male Speaker	59
Chart Ib: Consanguineal Kinship Terms: Female Speaker	60

	Page
Chart IIa: Affinal Kinship Terms: Consanguine's Spouses: Male Speaker	61
Chart IIb: Affinal Kinship Terms: Consanguine's Spouses: Female Speaker	62
Chart IIc: Affinal Kinship Terms: Spouse's Consanguines: Male Speaker	63
Chart IId: Affinal Kinship Terms: Spouse's Consanguines: Female Speaker	64
Chart III: Extended Family Divisions	65
Chart IV: Household Composition of Extended Families	66-68
Chart V: Household Interrelationships that Cross Extended Family Lines.	69
Chart VI: Major Shifts in Household Composition August 1963 – January 1965. .	70
REFERENCES	71

SPELLING AND PRONUNCIATION NOTE

The spelling used here is based on an attempt at a phonemic analysis of the Utkuhikhalingmiut dialect, but for several reasons it is not completely consistent. First, the phonemic analysis is still incomplete. Moreover, for the sake of simplicity I have removed the glottal stop throughout, and in several instances, in order to make familiar words recognizable, I have anglicized spellings. Thus, I have spelled *iklu* (snowhouse) as “*iglu*”, *qaplunaaq* (white man) as “*kabloona*”, and *Nattilingmiut* or *Nattilik* (the name of the Eskimo group that traditionally inhabited the Gjoa Haven area) as “*Netsilik*” or “*Netsilingmiut*”.

With regard to pronunciation the following guidelines are offered. These are intended only to facilitate pronunciation of words occurring in the text; they do not constitute a technical linguistic analysis.

vowels

a : as in *father*

ai: like the *i* in *like*

i: like the *ee* in *keel*, except that before and after *q* and *r* it is pronounced like the *o* in *pole* or like the *au* in *Paul*

consonants

h : as in English except that following *k* or *q* it may be pronounced like English *s* or *sh* and following *p* it is pronounced like English *s*. (Thus Utkihikhalingmiut is pronounced Utkihikhalingmiut and *tiph*i is pronounced *tipsi*.)

j : is sometimes pronounced like the English *y* and sometimes like the English *r*. (Thus *ajuqnaq* is pronounced *ayoqnaq* but *ujjiq* and *hujuujaq* are pronounced *urriq* and *huruuraq*.)

k : as in English, except that before *l* it is pronounced almost like English *g*.

ng: as in *sing*.

p : as in English, except that preceding *l* it is almost *b*.

q : like French *kr* or *rk*.

r : like the French *r*

tt : like the English *ch*.

INTRODUCTION

Aims and Methods

The following report is a preliminary attempt to explore certain aspects of Utkuhikhalingmiut Eskimo emotional expression. The Utkuhikhalingmiut live at the mouth of the Back River in the Keewatin District of the Northwest Territories.¹ Fieldwork was conducted among them between August 1963 and March 1965.

It is hoped that this report may provide data useful both to students of culture and personality in general, and more specifically to administrators and other persons who have contact with Eskimos. An understanding of the way any particular culture patterns the expression of emotion is an essential tool for anyone who must deal with members of that culture. Often we tend to think of communication as relating primarily to language, and assume that when we have mastered a language, or acquired a good translator, our communication problems are largely solved. Unfortunately, such sanguine expectations are not usually justified. Much of human communication, both verbal and non-verbal, is emotional or has emotional aspects, and we are dependent on emotional communication for much of our knowledge about the attitudes and motivations of other people. Sometimes emotions are communicated verbally; more often they are not; they are manifested in behavioral cues, many of them unconsciously emitted and unconsciously perceived. We often do not know exactly what it is in the behavior of another person that tells us how he is feeling, nor do we know exactly what we have done that makes others recognize how we feel. Even when we are aware of the behavioral cues which we emit and to which we react, we may be unaware that the same bit of behavior may have different meanings attached to it by members of different cultures. For both of these reasons - the subtlety of the cues and differences in the meanings attached to them - intercultural communication often fails on the emotional level.

In the Utkuhikhalingmiut case, and presumably in the case of other Eskimos too, there is a second reason why it is important to understand the ways in which feelings are expressed and the attitudes that people have toward emotional expressions of various sorts. The way a person expresses his feelings is a very important component in the value which the Utkuhikhalingmiut place upon him, the worth he is considered to have as a human being. Utkuhikhalingmiut standards of emotional behavior are applied to all people with whom the Utkuhikhalingmiut come in contact, not just to the Utkuhikhalingmiut; and deviations from the ideal are severely criticized.

This report does not pretend to be a complete description of the verbal and non-verbal ways in which the Utkuhikhalingmiut express their feelings. As originally formulated, my research plan was concerned not with emotional expression but with the social relations of shamans. It became necessary to shift the focus of my interest after I arrived in the field and discovered that the Utkuhikhalingmiut, devout Anglicans, were unwilling to give me any information on shamanism, and my new problem was not clearly formulated until after I

¹Research support from the following organizations is gratefully acknowledged: the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources; the Wenner-Gren Foundation; and the (U.S.) National Institute of Mental Health (Pre-doctoral Research Fellowship No. 5 F1 MH-20, 701-02 BFH with Grant Attachment MH-07951-01.)

returned from the field. Both because of the impromptu development of the research plan, and also because the work had to be carried on entirely in Eskimo and my knowledge of that language was limited, the data reported here should be viewed as tentative and incomplete. On the other hand, my working conditions gave me an exceptionally good opportunity to obtain rich behavioral material. For seventeen months of the field period I lived as an adopted "daughter" of an Utkuhikhalingmiut family, and for ten of those months I shared this family's iglu. The results of this experience are more fully described in my Ph.D. thesis (1967), of which this report is a revised version of the conclusion.

Before outlining the organization of the report it might be well to state more exactly the ways in which I consider the data to be limited. First, no attempt was made to record the entire Utkuhikhalingmiut emotional vocabulary, and there are gaps in the data also regarding the terms I did record. In a few cases I do not have verbal definitions for the terms, and where I do have them, in most cases they are derived from statements of only one or two informants; I did not systematically sample to find out how much consensus there was. Moreover, it may well be that my informants tailored their definitions to my limited vocabulary more than I was aware at the time. It may be due in part to these circumstances that the verbal definitions I recorded tend to be narrower than the ranges of meaning found in spontaneous speech. Although I think verbal definitions do naturally tend to be narrower than behavioral ones, since one is not normally aware of all the situations in which one uses a word, nevertheless it is quite possible that some of the distinctions I have drawn between the verbal and behavioral definitions of a term would not be sustained, given more systematic data.

With regard to the situational contexts in which the terms occurred, the data are also uneven. Since I heard some terms used far more commonly than others, I had more opportunities to record behaviors associated with these terms than with others. And it is an open question whether the behaviors associated with a term vary according to the class of person who is acting. Do children express unhappiness, for example, or the wish to be with a loved person differently from adults? In sum, the complete behavioral and conceptual parameters of the terms - the distinctions and interrelationships among them - have yet to be determined.

The picture presented here should also be investigated comparatively, and this too is a task I plan for the future. I do not yet know to what extent Utkuhikhalingmiut patterns of emotional expression are characteristic of other Eskimo groups too. On the basis of anecdotal accounts to be found in Eskimo literature which ranges geographically from Alaska to Greenland and historically from first contact with Euro-Canadian culture to the present, one gains the impression that, broadly speaking, considerable consistency is to be found. But pending more systematic research those who use this report must suspend judgment, or measure what I write against their own knowledge of the behavior of other Eskimos.

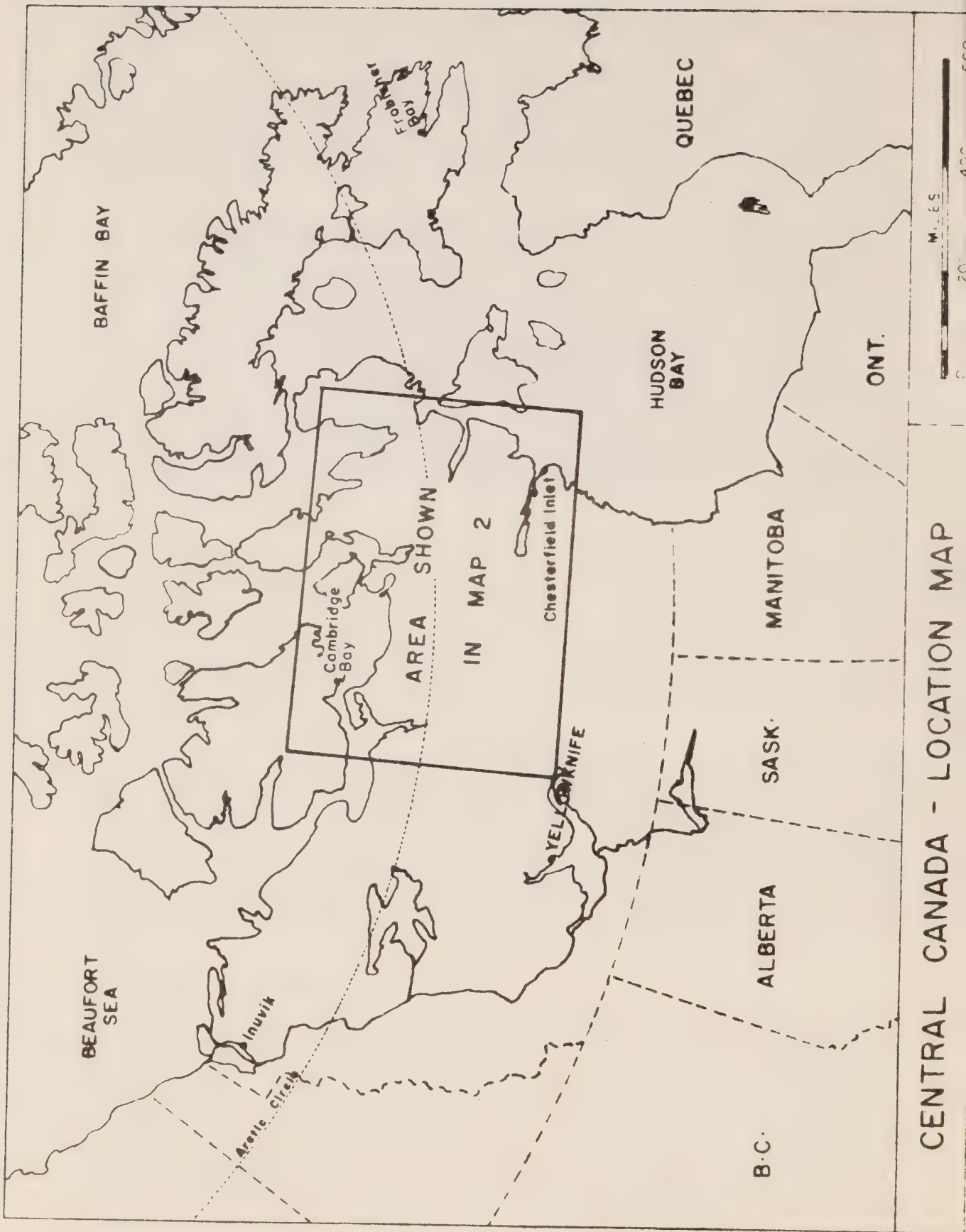
Organization of the Report

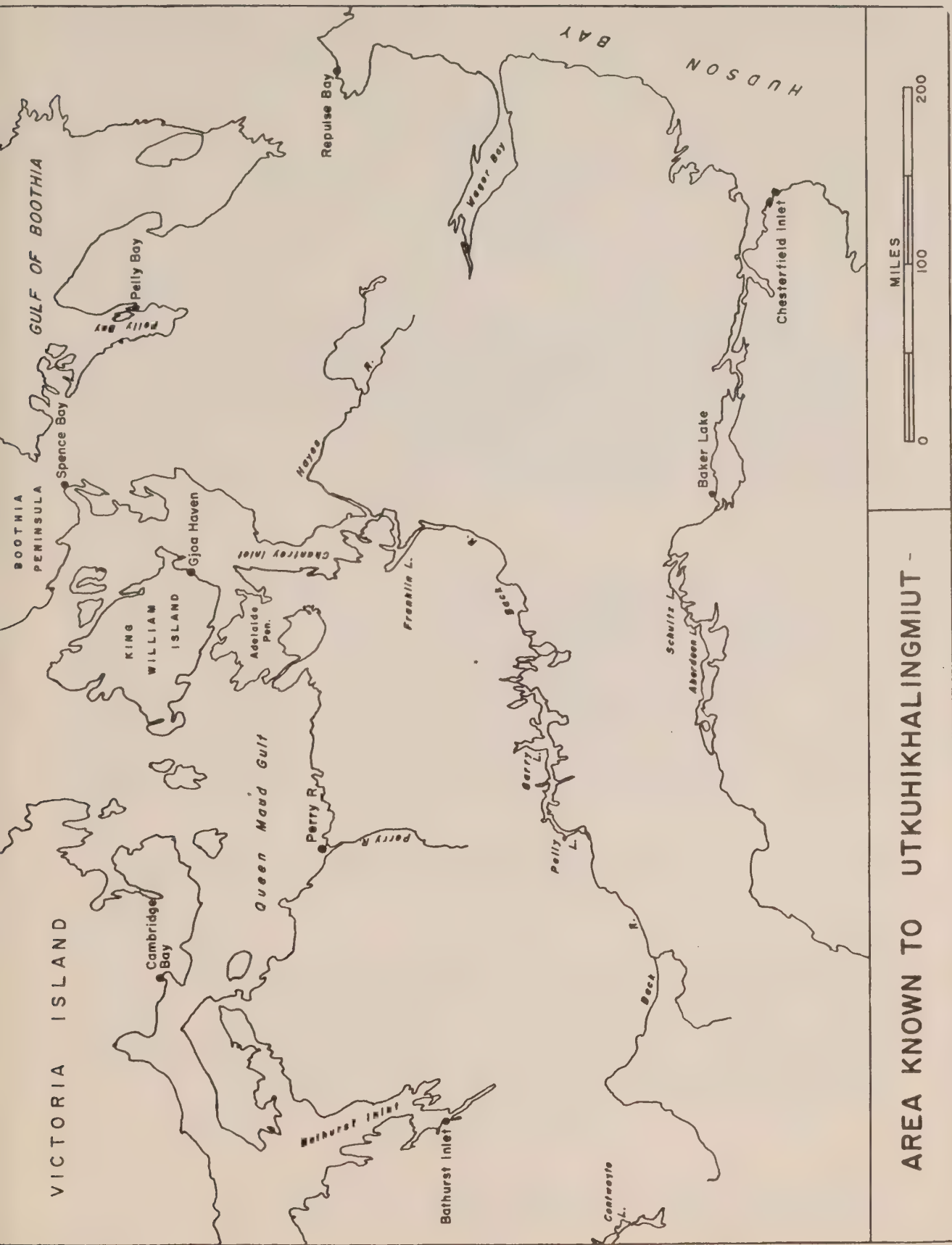
Chapter I contains background information on the history and present way of life of the Utkuhikhalingmiut. Chapter II is the body of the report. In it behaviors and attitudes associated with a number of emotions are outlined. The Utkuhikhalingmiut do not classify emotions exactly as English-speakers do; their words for various feelings cannot in every case be tidily subsumed under our words: affection, fear, hostility, and so on. Neither are their forms of expression or their attitudes toward the appropriateness of various forms of expression the same as ours in every instance. In this report I attempt to describe some of these differences, but in order to make it easier for the Euro-Canadian reader to locate the topics, that is, the various kinds of emotion to be discussed, I have in several cases clustered

the Eskimo emotion terms under rubrics that correspond to our English categories of emotion, at risk of doing violence to the Eskimo ways of conceptualizing feelings. Nine emotions or emotional syndromes ("syndromes" at least in the Euro-Canadian view) are described: affection; kindness and gratitude; happiness; hostility and aggression; humor; fear; anxiety; shyness; and loneliness. In addition to these emotional concepts, one other - the idea of *reason* and its various ramifications - is discussed, since it is of major importance in understanding the emotional reactions of the Utkuhikhalingmiut. In each case the relevant Eskimo words or concepts are presented, and insofar as data are available, the discussion of each term includes:

1. a verbal definition of the term, that is, what I was told when I asked what the term meant;
2. behavioral definitions of the term, that is, the behavioral contexts in which the term occurs in spontaneous speech;
3. an indication of the classes of people to whom the term applies - who expresses a particular emotion and toward whom - where variation was observed;
4. attitudes toward the emotion and its various expressions;
5. some of the ways in which the emotions are conceptually interrelated.

Chapter III concludes the report with a description of selected aspects of Utkuhikhalingmiut interpersonal style, ideal and real, as it emerges from the preceding data.





AREA KNOWN TO UTKUHIKHALINGMIUT -

CHAPTER 1

THE BACKGROUND

The Geographic Setting

The Back River rises in the vicinity of Contwoyto Lake, runs approximately east and then north to the rim of the continent, and empties into Chantrey Inlet, which in turn empties into Simpson Strait, the channel that separates King William Island from the mainland. Chantrey Inlet is about seventy-five miles long and roughly twenty miles wide in most places. The area inhabited by the Utkuhikhalingmiut lies at the foot of this sound, and extends roughly from the Franklin Lake Rapids to the mouth of the Hayes River (see Maps 1 and 2). The country is part of the Canadian Shield; pockets of low boggy tundra lie among rough granite knolls, and the river winds everywhere, occasionally narrow and turbulent, more often broad and lake-like.

Population

The Utkuhikhalingmiut who live in Chantrey Inlet are nomadic and, as is the case with other nomadic groups, their population fluctuates both seasonally and annually, and even from month to month, as people move in and out of the area. During the winter of 1963-64 the maximum population at any one time was thirty-five. Three adolescent children belonging to these families were at school in Inuvik and are therefore not counted, though they returned later, two during the summer and one for a brief period during the winter of 1964-65. During the latter winter, the maximum population at any one time was twenty. Again two children who were away at school are not counted. Two families who were only peripherally attached to the Utkuhikhalingmiut were camping elsewhere, and a third family had disintegrated; three of its six members had died of illness, and the survivors had moved away.

In addition to the Utkuhikhalingmiut, a few Netsilingmiut occasionally come and go in Chantrey Inlet, trapping fox in winter and netting fish in summer.

The Annual Cycle

The Utkuhikhalingmiut are unusual among Eskimo groups in that they live almost entirely on fish, rather than on sea mammals. In winter, that is, between November and March, all of the Utkuhikhalingmiut who are living in Chantrey Inlet come together to form a single camp, just north of the Hayes River mouth, where whitefish can be netted in large quantities throughout the winter. Fox are trapped at this season, too. All of the men and some of the women and older children run short traplines. Those of the women and children are in the immediate vicinity of the camp; the men may be gone two days (one night) when they check theirs. No lines are longer than that, but as one young bachelor said: "If I get twelve foxes this winter, I can buy everything I want."

In March, when whitefish become scarce, the people scatter. Some camp near the fish caches they have made the previous autumn; others go to spots where enough salmon trout for daily use can usually be obtained by jigging with a hand line. In May or early June a few

families go north as far as Elliot Bay and King Island to hunt seal, then return to fishing spots in time for the spring migration of salmon trout in mid-July. The Utkuhikhalingmiut remain dispersed throughout the summer and autumn, a few families usually at the Franklin Lake Rapids, one or two at the Hayes River mouth, and sometimes one or two others on the Adelaide Peninsula, which forms the western shore of Chantrey Inlet. In late August when the frosts set in, the able-bodied go off in various directions into the tundra to hunt caribou for winter clothing and mattress skins, while the old people and small children wait at the summer campsites. This autumn hunt lasts anywhere from a few days to a few weeks. Most of the meat is cached at the site of the kill, to be brought in by sled at intervals during the late autumn and winter, for a change from the usual fish diet. In September and October most of the fish — salmon trout and whitefish — to be used during the lean spring season are netted and cached. Though most of the trout caught during the July migration are dried and stored for future use, this store is often quite depleted by November and cannot be counted on for use the following spring.

By October the canvas tents in which people have been living all summer become unpleasantly cold, so when the river has frozen to a depth of four to six inches, autumn dwellings called *qaqmat* (sing: *qaqmaq*) are built. These are circular, like snowhouses, and are of similar size, but their walls are made of ice blocks (or sometimes partly of ice and nearly of snow blocks), and they are roofed with the canvas summer tents. They are not nearly so warm as the winter iglus, but they are a great improvement over the tents, as the ice walls keep out the cold winds. The Utkuhikhalingmiut live in these qaqmat until early November, by which time enough snow has usually fallen in the area around the Hayes River mouth to permit the building of iglus. Then they congregate at the winter campsite, and the annual cycle begins again.

TABLE OF SEASONAL ACTIVITIES

November

Temperatures below freezing; hard snow. All move to winter campsite, Amurat. Build iglus. Net whitefish and jig a few salmon trout. Trap fox. Make first trading trips to Gjoa Haven.

December-January

Net whitefish; trap fox; make trips to Gjoa Haven.

February

Same as December. In addition, jigging for salmon trout begins again.

March

Families begin to move to spring campsites. Whitefish nets taken up. Jig for salmon trout. Trap fox; make trips to Gjoa Haven.

April

Warmer weather; softening snow. Remaining families move to spring campsites. Some jig for salmon trout; others hunt seal; still others live on previous autumn's fish caches. Fox trapping ends. Last trips to Gjoa Haven before break-up.

May

Snow melts; move into tents. Seal hunters live on seal; others continue to use previous autumn's fish caches. Shoot birds; hunt birds' eggs.

June

River ice breaks up. Fish with reel or throwline for salmon trout and char. Shoot birds: perhaps net a few whitefish.

July

Move to summer campsites. Spear migrating salmon trout and char. Dry much of the fish catch for late summer, autumn, winter use.

August

Jig or fish with reel and line for salmon trout and char. Make toys for sale to kabloona fishermen.

September

Snow begins to stay on the ground. The able-bodied hunt caribou for one to three weeks.¹ Others net whitefish to cache for winter and spring. Fish with reel and throwline for salmon trout and char. Women begin to sew caribou winter clothes and braid winter fishlines of caribou sinew.

October

River freezes. Build *qaqmaqs*. Jig for salmon trout. Net whitefish to cache. Women sew and braid as in September.

History

The Utkuhikhalingmiut were not always such a small group as they are at present, nor have they always lived in Chantrey Inlet. Their early history, however, is not clearly known. According to the current traditions of the Utkuhikhalingmiut, their ancestors, and probably also those of the people whom the Utkuhikhalingmiut call the “real” or original Hanningajuqmiut and Ualiakliit on upper Back River came from the north from a region known as Ukjulik on the west coast of Adelaide Peninsula.² The reasons given for the move are various. Rasmussen (1931: 473-4) was told that it was due to a famine, which led the people to seek richer game country. An old man with whom Gilder spoke (1881:77) and present-day Iluiliqmġut informants (whose traditional territory bordered on Ukjulik) said that the Utkuhikhalingmiut were forced out of Ukjulik by their warlike neighbors. And still another version of the story was told by an elderly Utkuhikhalingmiut informant who explained that the people moved because they wanted to obtain guns from Baker Lake.

The date of the move is also uncertain. My elderly informant thought that the Utkuhikhalingmiut had moved at about the turn of the century; his older brother, he

¹Caribou are hunted sporadically at all other seasons, too, whenever their tracks are seen near camp, but autumn is the only season in which caribou are actively and vigorously sought.

²The Eskimos who are called Hanningajuqmiut by the Utkuhikhalingmiut are almost certainly those referred to as Hailingnayokmiut by Vallee (1962:21ff). Vallee does not mention the Ualiakliit separately, but perhaps includes them with the Hailingnayokmiut. Robert Williamson (personal communication) tells me that there are really only two groups: the Utkuhikhalingmiut and the Hanningajuqmiut. The Ualiakliit are a sub-group of the Hanningajuqmiut – those who live in the southwestern part of Hanningajuq. I think this is probably correct, but in the absence of confirmation from the Utkuhikhalingmiut I shall continue to speak of three groups for the moment, as Rasmussen does.

The Utkuhikhalingmiut of Vallee’s description, and also, I think, the contemporary Hailingnayokmiut or Hanningajuqmiut, are southerly kinsmen of those with whom my report is concerned; that is, they are former Utkuhikhalingmiut from the Chantrey Inlet area (see page 4 below). My data, though admittedly scanty, do not support Vallee’s suggestion that the Hailingnayokmiut are most closely related to the Kidlinermiut (1962:22). For example, the dialects of the “real” Hanningajuqmiut and of the Utkuhikhalingmiut are very similar, which argues in favor of a common origin for the two groups. It should be noted, incidentally, that the Utkuhikhalingmiut of Chantrey Inlet have E4, rather than E2, disc numbers like their southern relatives, a fact which makes Vallee’s map (1962:vii) slightly misleading: the Utkuhikhalingmiut are not *all* in the Baker Lake region, as the map leads one to suppose.

thought, had been among those who moved “to obtain guns.” Rasmussen, too, says that the famine, which Utkuhikhalingmiut told him had precipitated the move, was “not so very long ago” (1931:473). However, one gathers that he means it was several generations before 1923, which would place it well before the turn of the century. I think the evidence of Utkuhikhalingmiut habitation provided by the explorers who passed through Chantrey Inlet also points to a move early in the nineteenth century (Back 1836:333-438; Rasmussen 1931:468; M’Clintock 1859:251; Gilder 1881:77-78 and 198). But one report is difficult to reconcile with this view. Rasmussen’s Utkuhikhalingmiut informants told him of an “ancient tradition” which says the Utkuhikhalingmiut were once a warlike and arrogant people, a “great nation, so numerous that all the hills looking over Lake Franklin (at the foot of Chantrey Inlet) were sometimes enveloped in smoke from the many camp fires round the lake” (1931:481). How is this possible if the Utkuhikhalingmiut really moved into the Inlet just a few generations before Rasmussen was there?

Whatever the reasons for the move to Utkuhikhalik and whenever it occurred, all accounts agree that at the time of the move the Utkuhikhalingmiut shifted from a coastal to an inland economy. Rasmussen was told that when the Utkuhikhalingmiut first moved into their new country, they used to go sealing every winter and spring in Chantrey Inlet; but that when they obtained guns – which they did in 1908 or thereabouts – they gave up sealing and turned to trapping fox, which at Baker Lake, approximately two hundred miles to the south, they could trade for modern tools and white men’s goods, including the valuable guns (1931:473-4). For food, they fished and hunted caribou, ranging in search of the latter deep into the interior, as far as Garry and Pelly Lakes, the country of the Hanningajuqmiut and Ualiakliit. Utkuhikhalingmiut informants confirmed this story of a shift from sealing to an inland life of caribou hunting and, indeed, the latter pattern continued until quite recently. Several of the Utkuhikhalingmiut I knew had spent a number of their childhood years in the interior, close to Baker Lake, or on the upper reaches of Back River.

Within recent times the Back River people – the Utkuhikhalingmiut, Ualiakliit, and Hanningajuqmiut – have had a difficult history. In 1923 Rasmussen (1931:473) counted 164 Utkuhikhalingmiut and Ualiakliit combined, of whom 135 were Utkuhikhalingmiut, or living with the latter in Chantrey Inlet.¹ But according to my middle-aged Utkuhikhalingmiut informants, at some time within their memory (I failed to ascertain exactly when), famine and illness destroyed many of the original Ualiakliit and Hanningajuqmiut. Those who were left moved away to join other groups, such as the Utkuhikhalingmiut at the river mouth and the Qaiqniqmiut at Baker Lake. The Utkuhikhalingmiut say that when the last remaining members of the “real” Hanningajuqmiut (Hanningajuqmiummarit) had left the area, then some of the Utkuhikhalingmiut moved in, since Hanningajuq was usually very rich in caribou and fish.² But between 1949 and 1958 there were again several famines in Hanningajuq, and in 1958 the government evacuated the survivors, taking them to Baker Lake, to Rankin Inlet, and to Whale Cove. A few families have since moved in and out of the area, but no one, to my knowledge, has returned permanently to Hanningajuq (C.T. Thompson, Robert Williamson, and F.G. McGill, personal communications).

In 1956 there were about one hundred Utkuhikhalingmiut living in Chantrey Inlet.³ But in the spring of 1958 there was a famine there as well. Though fish are consistently

¹Rasmussen (1931:473-7) thought he had included the Hanningajuqmiut in his census, too, but according to my Utkuhikhalingmiut informants, he was mistaken. We therefore do not know how many Hanningajuqmiut there were in 1923.

²I have not been able to check these Utkuhikhalingmiut statements against other sources.

³The information in this paragraph was obtained from various sources in Gjoa Haven and Chantrey Inlet.

plentiful in the Inlet, people had not yet learned to depend on them for food in all seasons as they do now. Instead of caching fish in the autumn for use in the spring when the river is empty, it was their habit to go inland in search of caribou. But in 1958 the caribou failed to come. By the time this was apparent, the fish had gone. People tried to hunt seal, but due to bad weather hunting was poor. A few people died; others moved away. I do not know the details of the moves that occurred then, and that have occurred since that time: who moved where, and when, and why. I do not believe that the depopulation of the Inlet was entirely due directly to the famine, but the latter certainly provided part of the impetus. By 1964, as I have said, only twenty people remained in the Inlet, and it is questionable how much longer these few will stay there. In 1965 there was talk of moving to Gjoa Haven to take advantage of government housing; and information from Gjoa Haven, though somewhat vague, seems to indicate that at least two families did spend all or part of the winters of 1965-66 and 1966-67 in the community. But at present writing, most of the Utkuhikhalingmiut are again in Chantrey Inlet, all of those who were in Gjoa Haven having moved back to the Inlet.

Regular contact between the Chantrey Inlet Utkuhikhalingmiut and kabloonas is a relatively recent phenomenon. Brief glimpses of the expeditions of Back in 1833 (1836), Anderson in 1855 (Rasmussen 1931:468), and Schwatka in 1879 (Gilder 1881), and a visit of a few days with Knud Rasmussen in 1923 comprise the total of their early encounters with white men. As I have mentioned, Rasmussen (1931:473-4) calculated on the basis of Utkuhikhalingmiut reports that the first guns and modern tools were introduced to the Utkuhikhalingmiut about 1908 by an Eskimo trader from the Baker lake area to the south, and since that time the Utkuhikhalingmiut have traded with increasing frequency, first at Baker Lake and at other posts on the Hudson Bay coast, later at Perry River, and most recently in Gjoa Haven. But it was only after the disappearance of the caribou in 1958 that cloth and canvas replaced caribou as materials for clothing and tents. Now the Utkuhikhalingmiut have a surprising number of kabloona goods, ranging from Coleman stoves to cameras — the whole gamut of items carried by the Gjoa Haven Hudson Bay store. Most of these goods are obtained with the proceeds of fox trapping, but a man may request perhaps one sizeable item a year on relief: a tent, lumber for sled runners, or duffel for a parka.

Sporadic contacts with missionaries, both Catholic and Anglican, began about thirty years ago, according to the accounts of Utkuhikhalingmiut informants. Father Buliard visited Chantrey Inlet several times on his winter tours of the hinterlands, though his headquarters were in the Garry Lake region. Catholic missionaries were also encountered in Repulse Bay when Utkuhikhalingmiut men went there to trade, as they occasionally did before the Hudson Bay Company opened a station on King William Island in 1927. A few Utkuhikhalingmiut were converted to Catholicism. Anglican influences came from Baker Lake, both directly, through contacts with Canon James, and indirectly, by way of contacts with Anglican Eskimos living in the Baker Lake region. More recently, the Utkuhikhalingmiut have come under the aegis of the Anglican missionary in Spence Bay and his deacon¹ in Gjoa Haven, and almost all of those who live in Chantrey Inlet are now devout Anglicans. They have a lay leader, an Utkuhikhalingmiutaq, who conducts tri-weekly services, and when they go in to Gjoa Haven to trade, as most men do at least once or twice during the winter, they are taught by the deacon there. Occasionally, too, the deacon visits them in Chantrey Inlet, but they have never had a resident missionary.

Indeed, prior to my visit there had never been a resident kabloona in Chantrey Inlet, resident, that is, for more than a week or so. In the last decade government personnel (Northern Service Officers, medical survey teams, and R.C.M.P. officers) and, during July

¹Since this was written I have learned that the deacon has been ordained a priest.

and August, sports fishermen have become customary, though brief, visitors. In 1962 the French ethnographer, Jean Malaurie, made a trip of a few days to Chantrey Inlet, and of course Rasmussen's short visit in 1923 was made with the purpose of collecting ethnographic data; but prior to my own trip no long-term studies of the Chantrey Inlet Utkuhikhalingmiut had been made.

Utkuhikhalingmiut contacts with the kabloona world have not, however, been entirely limited to the brief and infrequent meetings on home territory that I have described. A few years ago the Utkuhikhalingmiut, on the advice of one of the Anglican missionaries, began to send some of their children to school, and by now one child from almost every Utkuhikhalingmiut family has spent from one to several years at Inuvik. Moreover, several people have been hospitalized in Edmonton. And when the travellers return, of course, they bring with them tales of their experiences, which add to the knowledge the Utkuhikhalingmiut are accumulating about the outside world.

The Structure of the Society

My data on the structure of Utkuhikhalingmiut society are not as complete as I could wish. I hope to fill in the missing data on my return to Chantrey Inlet. Meanwhile, the following remarks can be made as background for the discussion of emotional patterning that follows.

Kinship is the most important bond in Utkuhikhalingmiut society. In the Utkuhikhalingmiut view, everybody in the group is related to everybody else, and everybody addresses, or refers to, everybody else by terms of kinship. The dyadic contractual relationships — the hunting, meat-sharing, joking, and dancing partnerships — that are prominent in many other Eskimo groups play no role in contemporary Utkuhikhalingmiut society, as far as I was able to determine. It is possible that there may have been hunting, joking, or dancing partners in the days when the group was larger, but I doubt that there were sharing partnerships even in the old days. The neighboring Netsilingmiut, as described by Van de Velde (1956), did have seal-sharing partnerships in their winter camps. But Rasmussen (1931:482), writing of his visit to the Utkuhikhalingmiut in 1923, describes them as lacking any such special sharing relationships at that time.

The Utkuhikhalingmiut establish kinship bonds in four different ways: by birth, by betrothal or marriage, by adoption, and by naming. Formerly, bonds were created by wife exchange as well. Traces of previous wife exchanges can be seen in the kinship terms used by certain people today. One woman, for example, calls two men "father" because they were joint husbands of her mother. Nowadays, however, since the practice of exchanging wives is in disrepute, it is difficult to obtain information either on the previous extent of the practice or on its present existence.

Wife-exchange aside, most Utkuhikhalingmiut are related in two or more of the four other ways mentioned. Marriage relationships overlap with and complicate blood relationships, since Utkuhikhalingmiut parents almost always, when possible, betroth their children to relatives, especially to cousins (*ani/naiak*).¹

¹See the charts of kinship terminology in the Appendix, pages 59-64. Although all three of the marriages between cousins for which I have genealogies appear to be between parallel cousins, I do not think that cross cousins are disallowed as marriage partners. Utkuhikhalingmiut, in speaking to me of marriage rules, never distinguished one kind of *najak* or *ani* from another, except to make it clear that they were talking about "cousin" (*illu*), *najaks* and *anis*, and not sibling ones. Moreover, the term used for spouse-of-cousin is "cousin" (*najak* or *ani*) in the case of both cross and parallel cousins, and the Utkuhikhalingmiut explain this as a result of the fact that "we marry our cousins."

Adoption is a complicating factor in Utkuhikhalingmiut kinship, too. As in other Eskimo groups, adoption is common, and the adopted child tends to retain certain kinship bonds, both terminological and behavioral, with his genealogical family in addition to acquiring membership in his adoptive family. For example, he continues to call his genealogical brothers and sisters by sibling terms and to treat them as informally as genealogical siblings treat one another. Unfortunately, my data on the formal structure of adoptive relationships are still very incomplete, both with regard to the kinship terms used by an adopted child toward his adoptive and genealogical relatives, and with regard to the transfer of his rights and responsibilities into the adoptive relationship. So complex do consanguineal and adoptive relationships become that there is even a kinship term (*tamazsrutik*) which people resort to in certain cases when they do not know which of two equally applicable terms to choose for a given relative.

The fourth way in which Utkuhikhalingmiut create kin relationships is by bestowing on a baby the name of some other person. A belief widespread among Eskimo groups is that a person acquires along with his name various characteristics of the previous owner or owners of the name – the latter's physical, mental, or moral traits, his skills and abilities. In a sense, he *becomes* the previous owner or owners of the name. The belief in name-souls and behavior related to this belief appear to vary in detail from group to group. Among the Utkuhikhalingmiut, a baby may be named either for a living or for a dead person, and in either case the child is thought to acquire physical characteristics and mannerisms of previous owners of its name, including animals, if the name happens to be that of an animal. For example, a child who cocked her head to one side when listening was said to do so because her name was Tulugak (Raven). I was unable to determine whether Utkuhikhalingmiut believe, as some other Eskimos do, that the previous owners of a child's name protect their namesake (Gubser 1965:206; Stefansson 1951:398-400), or transfer to the latter their skills and other characteristics (Guemple 1965:328-9). An Utkuhikhalingmiut namesake does, however, acquire the network of kin relationships that belonged to his "name", that is, to the name's last owner, the person for whom he was named. He does not entirely substitute the terms appropriate to his "name" for those that would be genealogically appropriate for him to use; he may still use genealogical terms for many of his relatives; but for other relatives he uses the terms that his "name" would have used, and is in turn addressed by the terms that his relatives would have used in addressing his "name". Alternatively, he may vary his usage, sometimes employing the genealogical term and sometimes the name term for the same relative. For example, in one case I knew, in which a baby girl was named for her father's mother, her father addressed her as "mother", while her mother addressed her as "mother-in-law". The child in turn called her father sometimes "father" and sometimes "mother's brother", because the latter term was the one used by her father's mother (for whom the child was named) in addressing her son (the child's father). Shared names have these complicated effects only if one of the two who share the name was named *for* the other. If two or more members of the community just happen to have the same name, they may call each other by a special term, usually *avva*, *qii*, or *haunittiaq*, but there the relationships ends; they do not adopt one another's terms for all their other relatives.¹

Among some Eskimos, name-sharing influences other behavior besides the use of kin terms. It may lead to an especially close friendship (Gubser 1965:162) or entail responsibilities for economic support (Guemple 1965:326-7). The extreme indulgence

¹The effect of the name-relationship on the use of kin terminology has been remarked in other Eskimo groups too, *inter alia*, among the Copper Eskimo (Stefansson 1951:297), the Eskimo of Hudson Bay (Spalding 1960:65; Willmott 1961:86), the North Alaskan Eskimo (Spencer 1959:291; Burch 1966:63-4), and the Labrador Eskimo (Ben-Dor 1966:76-81).

shown to Eskimo children is also sometimes explained in terms of the name-soul belief: punishing the child would be an affront to the person for whom the child was named (Stefansson 1951:398-400; Thalbitzer 1941:600). The Utkuikhalingmiut, however, explain their indulgence of children in different terms, and though I did not inquire concerning ideal behavior associated with the Utkuikhalingmiut name-relationship, in practice I noticed no special behavior between name-sharers, other than the use of the name-sharing term in address and reference.

With regard to blood relationship, the Utkuikhalingmiut distinguish on the basis of genealogical closeness two "degrees" of kinship (*ilagiit*): "real family" (*ilammarigiit*) and "less real -" or "not real family" (*ilammarilluangngiitut* or *ilammaringngiitut*). Though, as I have said, every Utkuikhalingmiutaq in Chantrey Inlet considers himself related to every other in one or several ways, the all-important bond is that which exists among the members of an *ilammarigiit*, a "real family", and none of the other complexities obscure this relationship. The *ilammarigiit* is an extended family consisting of genealogical or adoptive siblings (*nukariit*) and the children of those siblings.

The Netsilingmiut, northern neighbors of the Utkuikhalingmiut, make a similar distinction between two categories of kin: close kin (or, in Balikci's term, "restricted *ilagiit*") and others. Close kin in the Netsilik dialect are called *ilagiit nangminiriit*. Balikci gives two different definitions for *ilagiit nangminiriit*. In his earlier work he says it is composed of a grandfather, with his married sons and their descendants (1963:90). In his later monograph (1964:62-3), he says that "informants recognize their primary relatives, uncles and aunts on both father's and mother's side, most first cousins, and a few important affinals as members of their restricted *ilagiit*. The latter definition seems very similar to the way I have defined the Utkuikhalingmiut restricted kindred, the *ilammarigiit*. It should be noted, however, that the term *nukariit*, which I have glossed as "siblings", may also mean "brothers". If the latter is the correct translation, then Balikci's earlier, patrilineally biased definition is closer to the Utkuikhalingmiut *ilammarigiit*. I was not able to determine whether my informant meant "brother" or "sibling" when he said "*nukariit*". Whatever the theoretical definition of the Utkuikhalingmiut "real family", however, in practice, sisters as well as brothers are included. Therefore, pending further information, I adhere to the definition I have given.

Of course, a kinship bond can be either activated or ignored. In the Utkuikhalingmiut case, residence and personal likes and dislikes are both important in determining whether a potential *ilammarigiit* bond will be activated or not. When I inquired about relatives who had moved away, I was told, "We don't use kin terms for those people; they don't live here." One elderly man did not know by what term he would address his genealogical sister if she should return; he could not recall her name either because she had married and moved away before he was born. My data seem to indicate, too, that bonds between the children of siblings tend to weaken after the death of the connecting relative or relatives. But whatever the precise composition of the *ilammarigiit* in a particular case, it is a sub-category of "family in general" (*ilagiit*). People outside the *ilammarigiit* are considered "less real -" or "not-real family" (*ilammarilluangngiitut* or *ilammaringngiitut*), even though because of shared names or because of distant or putative consanguineal relationship these outsiders are addressed by the same kin terms that are used for "real family". Whenever possible, it is with members of their "real family" that people live, work, travel, and share: points which will be expanded below. Moreover, it is only with their "real family" that they appear to feel completely comfortable and safe. It is possibly for this reason that parents, anxious to assure their children of a happy marriage, very often betroth them as infants to their cousins. Though I have no Utkuikhalingmiut statements concerning their reasons for preferring to marry their children to their kinsmen, the above hypothesis seems reasonable in the light of my general knowledge of Utkuikhalingmiut attitudes toward *ilammarigiit* vs.

others. It is also based in part on Balikci's information on the Netsilingmiut, who have the same marriage practices (1963: 94-95). The Netsilingmiut explain that they prefer to marry their children to first degree cousins, or to other close relatives, primarily because then their daughters will not have to move far away from home when they marry; they can stay nearby (since, as among the Utkuhikhalingmiut, close relatives live together) and help their parents, and in turn be well cared for by people who love them, that is, their family. Among strangers, on the contrary, they might be in danger of abuse, as strangers are not to be trusted.

I do not have Utkuhikhalingmiut statements on ideal residence rules. In practice, young married couples live sometimes in the household of the husband's parents, sometimes with the wife's, and sometimes alone, depending on the wishes and needs of the individuals concerned. No flat generalizations can be made concerning the composition of Utkuhikhalingmiut households. In some cases, a nuclear family constitutes a household. Other households are three-generational, consisting of a parent or parents; their children, one of whom is married or widowed; and the latter's children. A few Utkuhikhalingmiut households tend to split and coalesce again, seasonally, so that people who constituted one household during the winter might maintain two separate households during the summer, or vice versa. Such seasonal variations usually consist in the splitting apart of the three-generational households: the married child and his nuclear family move away from the parent household and either set up an independent household or join the household of another relative. But in one case it was brothers-in-law who shared a joint household for a season and then moved apart again.¹

The "core" families of the Utkuhikhalingmiut when I lived with them were divided into three "real families" (*ilammariigut*), whose central figures were, respectively, Pala and Kavvik (both elderly widowers) and Nilaak (a married man of about forty).² Of these groups, Pala's was the largest. Whereas in 1963 Nilaak's and Kavvik's families each had a core membership of three persons, Pala's kin numbered sixteen and comprised three nuclear families: Pala's own, and those of his older half-brother, Piuvkaq, and his nephew-cum-son-in-law, Inuttiaq. These three nuclear families sometimes operated as separate households, and at other times coalesced into two. Piuvkaq and his wife were elderly and so were dependent on Pala's help, the more so as they had no grown son or son-in-law to support them. They always moved with Pala but never shared a common household with him, at least while I was in Chantrey Inlet. Inuttiaq, like Nilaak, was a vigorous man of about forty. He was related to Pala in two ways: as the son of one of Pala's brothers and as the husband of Pala's eldest daughter. In addition, Pala's adult but still unmarried son was Inuttiaq's close friend; so Inuttiaq's household and Pala's were inseparable, and sometimes shared common quarters. Pala had a second son-in-law too, a young man in his twenties named Ipuituq, whom he would have liked to count among his own. But Ipuituq, being a half-brother to Kavvik, had divided loyalties and was not always so obedient to Pala as the latter would have liked.

Two other households were peripheral to the Utkuhikhalingmiut; they did not join the latter every winter. Ujuqpa, the head of one of these households, was a Netsilingmiutaq, who was married to a Utkuhikhalingmiut woman. In the other household, that of Kuutiq, both husband and wife had been born in Chantrey Inlet and were therefore considered Utkuhikhalingmiut, but they had lived in Gjoa Haven for a number of years, and therefore

¹The details of household composition are outlined on Charts IV and VI, on pages 66-68; 70.

²See Charts III - V of extended families and households in Appendix.
All personal names that occur in this report are pseudonyms.

in some contexts were spoken of a “former Utkuhikhalingmiut”.¹ These two households constituted a fourth *ilammarigiit*, because Ujuqpa’s wife was the mother of Kuuttiq’s wife; and there were also bonds of a complicated nature between them and Kavvik’s family.²

Though, as I have said, all the *ilammarigiit* were interrelated in various ways, and clear lines were hard to draw, each nevertheless considered itself somewhat separate from the others, and frequently separated itself physically. When the Utkuhikhalingmiut dispersed to their spring and summer camps, each *ilammarigiit* tended to go its own way, and when two or more shared the same campsite, as they did in the winter and occasionally at other seasons, one could usually see the lines between them in the spacing of the iglus or tents. Ipuituq’s nuclear family, drawn both to Pala and to Kavvik, lived sometimes with one man, sometimes with the other, and occasionally by itself.

Interaction Patterns

The following summary is intended to give a bit more substance to the description of kinship relations in Appendix I. What rights and obligations inhere in membership within a household, an *ilammarigiit*, a camp? And how do the various households and *ilammarigiit* interact with one another? Also this brief discussion is to serve as a background for the description of emotional patterning which follows.

(a) Authority

Like other Eskimo groups, the Utkuhikhalingmiut have no formal leaders whose authority transcends that of the separate household heads. And unlike some other groups, they have no informal leaders (*ihumataat*) either – men who influence decisions by virtue of their wisdom or exceptional skill in hunting. Whether the Utkuhikhalingmiut have ever recognized such *ihumataat* among them, I do not know. In any case, authority to make decisions concerning the daily activities of a household rests with the senior man of the household. The younger men and all the women and children of the household are expected to obey his instructions without question. In addition there is a general rank order of authority such that men give instructions to women, and older people give directions to younger people. I have insufficient data on situations in which the principles of sex and age are in conflict, as when an older woman interacts with a younger man. Utkuhikhalingmiut informants say that in the domestic sphere older women can give directions to the younger men of the household, and older girls may order their younger brothers around, but in matters pertaining to adult male affairs – hunting, fishing, traveling – it is, logically, only men who give directions; and the behavior I observed bears out these statements.

In practice, the authority of the household head tends to be exercised with considerable restraint. For example, it is the usual thing for a young man to initiate his own activities, to decide for himself what work he is going to do on any given day, subject only to occasional veto from the senior member of his household. A woman, too, most often makes her own decisions concerning her day’s activities, unless her husband has definite

¹I have tried in this report to avoid the use of the controversial term “band”. In designating people as “Utkuhikhalingmiut” I have followed the Utkuhikhalingmiuts’ own definition – as Rasmussen apparently did in the census referred to here. The term *Utkuhikhalingmiut* (“people of the place where there is material for making pots”) seems to be essentially – but not wholly – a territorial concept. A person is an Utkuhikhalingmiut if he is born in Chantrey Inlet and lives there during his childhood, but he may lose his Utkuhikhalingmiut affiliation by moving away and staying away for a number of years. Then he will be referred to as a “former Utkuhikhalingmiut”. On the other hand, a person who was born and raised elsewhere, then moved to Chantrey Inlet as an adult, may or may not be referred to as an “Utkuhikhalingmiut”, depending on the context of the conversation. Sometimes he will be referred to as “an Utkuhikhalingmiut” – but not *really* (*-marik*, genuinely) an Utkuhikhalingmiut. I did not push the concept to its limit in discussing it with Utkuhikhalingmiut.

²See Chart III on page 65.

ideas on the subject. Children are even more autonomous: they, rather than adults, take the initiative in deciding when and to what extent they will participate in adult tasks – although of course if they do decide to go fishing or wood-gathering, then they are subject to the decisions of their elders concerning that job. Women and children also have autonomy in certain other spheres; they can dispose of their possessions as they choose, and if they trap a fox, no one tells them what they should buy with the money. Moreover, the subordination that does exist is not rationalized in terms of the mental, spiritual, or physical inferiority of the subordinate members, as is often the case in our society. Utkuhikhalingmiut women perceive their men as having all the hardest work to do, and see their own role as that of grateful assistant. As one woman put it to me: “We want to do what we can to help the men because they take care of us.” This informant was a Baffin Islander, but her view was reflected in the words of Utkuhikhalingmiut women too. Moreover, the demands of the men are often welcome for their own sake. It is the men who order feasts of bannock or rice, the men who are thirsty for a second kettle of tea; and a woman who would not presume to cook extra luxuries on her own initiative is delighted when her husband or brother tells her to do it. Thus it is a mistake to make flat generalizations about “male dominance” in Eskimo society or to interpret in our own terms the “dominance” that does exist.

Another aspect of relationships between men and women should also be mentioned here, namely the often-described social separation between them. It is true that in public there is very little communication between the sexes; men have their own social circle or circles and women have theirs. In the privacy of the iglu or tent, however, when only members of the *ilammarigiit* are present – late at night or early in the morning – the situation is different. Then the intimacy and affectionate conviviality among all the family members present contrasts vividly with the separation and emotional restraint between the sexes that characterize public gatherings.

(b) Sharing

Sharing patterns vary seasonally among the Utkuhikhalingmiut, camps being somewhat more “communal” in summer than in winter. In summer all members of an *ilammarigiit* who happen to be camped in the same place constitute a single production unit; the men fish and hunt together, the women work together to prepare the fish and meat for storage, and all the food brought in by the men of the *ilammarigiit* is cached together. With regard to consumption, the summer camp is even more communal. Whether they belong to one or more *ilammarigiit*, all members of the camp eat together, the men in one circle, the women in another. The women of the camp jointly gather moss and twigs for fuel, and take turns cooking, the fish and tea of course being contributed by all households in the camp.

In winter the picture is different. Paradoxically, when the families who have been dispersed all summer come together in November, each iglu-household to some extent withdraws, economically and socially, from the others, and the camp loses any semblance of communality. The iglu-household – which most often comprises a nuclear family – is now the unit both of production and of consumption. Even members of an *ilammarigiit* who shared their work and their meals during the summer now eat and, on the whole, work separately, and the fish they net are stored separately – unless, of course, they live together in a single iglu, or in two attached iglus (a “joint iglu”: *kariariik*). In the latter case, they constitute a single household, and they share just as they did during the summer.

Interestingly, the Utkuhikhalingmiut pattern of seasonal variation contrasts with that of certain other Eskimo groups in which winter camps are said to be more communal in one way or another than summer ones. In some cases it is the housing that is described as more communal in winter (e.g., Boas 1888; Jeness 1922; Freuchen 1961:61). In these groups,

joint inglus – or even communal iglus, in which each family has its own sleeping niche around a central floor space – are usual. In other cases communal hunting or rules for the distribution of meat in winter camps are described such that each household in the camp has the right to claim a share of any animal caught (e.g., Balickci 1964; Rasmussen 1931; Van de Velde 1956). In still other cases, communality of both housing and food distribution are described (e.g., Holm 1914). Mauss (1904-05) bases his ingenious argument concerning seasonal variations in Eskimo social structure on data such as these. Among the Utkuhikhalingmiut, however, joint inglus are rare: I saw only three in two winters. And there is only one sense in which food is more communally shared in an Utkuhikhalingmiut winter camp: there are more people to solicit from. Summer and winter, the rule holds that anyone who feels a desire for a certain food which he does not have, or who lacks tobacco or fuel, may occasionally request “a little bit” from one who does have some. In the summer there are few people around to ask from; in the winter one may ask from anyone in Chantrey Inlet, since all families are present in camp. But requests are always modest in the extreme, and never come close to equalizing the food supply. Moreover, in the winter when visitors are present during a meal, the portions they are offered tend to be smaller than those of their hosts, even if the visitors are members of the host’s *ilammarigiit*. In the summer, any visitors to the camp will receive equal portions with the camp members. Rasmussen (1931:482) described the Utkuhikhalingmiut as living (in 1924) in a “state of pronounced communism” both summer and winter, all meals being eaten in company by all the members of a village. If this was true in Rasmussen’s day, the situation has now changed. I think it is possible, however, that Rasmussen was extrapolating from the “communism” he observed in the late spring camp he visited.

In sum, it is apparent that with regard to authority it is the household which is the important unit in Utkuhikhalingmiut society. With regard to production and consumption the situation varies seasonally. In the summer the *ilammarigiit*, or those members of it who live in the same camp, work together to collect food which the camp as a whole consumes. In the winter, on the other hand, it is again the household which is the important unit. However, this is not to imply that the *ilammarigiit* is irrelevant in the winter camp. It is very salient. I have mentioned (page 10) that social distance between one *ilammarigiit* and another tends to be expressed in the spacing of dwellings, in winter as well as in summer. It is also expressed at all seasons in visiting patterns and in differential borrowing of goods and rendering of services. Members of the same *ilammarigiit* tend to visit one another more frequently and more informally than they visit members of other *ilammarigiit* – sitting down without invitation among their hosts, as outsiders do not, and perhaps lending a hand with some ongoing work. As one might expect, they tend to request loans and favors more readily of one another than of other camp members. And most often if a man wants a companion for a trapping or trading trip it will be a member of his *ilammarigiit* that he invites. The emotional importance of the *ilammarigiit* will become more evident in Chapter II.

CHAPTER 2

EMOTION CONCEPTS

Affection

The first feelings to be discussed are those comprised, more or less, by the English concept of affection. I recorded four terms that bear on what I call "affection". These can be glossed briefly as follows:

- unga*:¹ to wish or to rouse the wish to be with another person.
- niviuq*: to wish or arouse the wish to kiss or touch another affectionately.
- akaak*: to communicate tenderly with another by speech or by gesture (other than touch).
- nakli*: to feel or arouse concern for another's physical or emotional welfare; to wish or to arouse the wish to be with another. (Of the terms commonly used to express positive emotion, this one is used in the widest range of situations.)

As indicated by this terminology, the Utkuhikhalingmiut distinguish at least three different aspects of feeling within what we call "affection",² namely: (1) the desire to be with a loved person; (2) demonstrativeness: the desire to kiss, touch, or express tenderness verbally; (3) protectiveness: the desire to take care of the physical and emotional needs of another. Each of these three aspects will be elaborated in turn. Protectiveness (*nakli*), which is from the point of view of Utkuhikhalingmiut values, the most important of the three, will be discussed last.

(1) The desire to be with a loved person (*unga*, *nakli*).

Utkuhikhalingmiut patterns with regard to the distribution and expression of affectionate feelings are generally similar to those of other Eskimo groups that have been described (*inter alia*, Burch 1966; Damas 1963; Gubser 1965; Honigmann 1959; Washburne

¹Most of the terms discussed here are not, properly speaking, words; they are not units which stand alone in speech; they are combining forms, most of which occur as bases of verbs: *niviuqtuq*: "he/she expresses the desire to kiss or touch"; *niviuqnaqtuq*: "he/she/it arouses the desire to kiss or touch"; and so on. I have treated these bases as words so that they might be more easily incorporated into English sentences; and sometimes I have attached English elements to them (*akaaks*, *akaaking*), for the same reason. Three exceptions to the above statement are: *nutaraqpaluktuq*: "he/she seems a child"; *ihuma*: "mind, thought, reason"; and *ajuqnaq*: "it is difficult or impossible." These three constitute words in themselves, though they may also appear as elements in other words.

²Let me stress here, as in the Introduction, that in referring to these Utkuhikhalingmiut concepts as "aspects" of the overarching concept of "affection" I am grouping them according to the scheme imposed by *English* speakers. My data on the interrelationships that the Utkuhikhalingmiut themselves see among these concepts are still fragmentary. Moreover, it is possible that more than three "components" will emerge when a complete emotional vocabulary has been obtained from the Utkuhikhalingmiut.

1940). Affectionate attachments within the *ilammarigiit* – between parents and children, brothers and sisters, and husbands and wives – are strong, in the sense that one wishes to be with these people and tends to feel extremely lonely (*hujuujaq*) when separated from them. The wish to be with a loved person may be expressed either by the term *unga* or by the term *nakli*, which will be discussed in section (3): Protectiveness, below. When a child cried in the absence of its mother or father; when a young boy decided to stay at home instead of returning to boarding school; and when a man stayed at home to be with his seriously ill wife instead of going about his ordinary business, they were said to feel *unga*, to wish to be with their loved ones.

It was almost always in the context of relationships within the *ilammarigiit* that I heard the term *unga*, and most often it referred to feelings between parents and children.¹ It is in the latter context that people speak most openly of *unga* feelings – on the part of both parent and child. In Utkuhikhalingmiut theory, and in fact as well, the attachment of parents to *small* children is particularly strong. In some cases, however, parental affection may remain extremely strong even when a child is grown. Thus, one father planned to follow his newly-married daughter to Gjoa Haven when she moved there with her husband, “because he wanted to be with (*unga*) her.”

The term *nakli* also contains connotations of “wanting to be with”. When I asked for a definition of the term I was told that it referred to the desire to feed someone who was hungry, warm someone who was cold, and protect someone who was in danger of physical injury. In spontaneous usage, however, much wider ramifications of the term appear. The idea of “wanting to be with” a person which is contained in the *nakli* concept is most clearly seen in the idea of “loving too much” (*naklipallaak*; *naklingnaqpallaak*). In the Utkuhikhalingmiut view, when one loves (*naklis*) a person too much it is distressing both to the person who loves and to the person who is loved. The feelings of the former are clearly illustrated by the following quotation. I had asked a man about this concept of “loving too much”, as it seemed strange to me. Indicating his daughters, he replied: “I love (*nakli*) S. and K. a little bit more than I love R. and Q. I love them too much. When I am away on trips, hunting or trading, I miss them (*hujuujaq*) I sleep badly. When K. is away at school I miss her; it makes me feel uncomfortable (*ihluit*, *huqu*). People don’t like to feel uncomfortable. If one doesn’t love (*nakli*) too much it is good.”

Such feelings of loneliness and discomfort on the part of the loving person are one aspect of the ambivalence that is felt toward affection. The discomfort of the person who is *loved* too much, on the other hand, may have more to do with the *protective* aspect of the *nakli* concept and with the desire to be self-sufficient, which I shall discuss further below.

(2) Demonstrativeness (*nivuuq*).

Judging by remarks like those quoted above, the affections of Utkuhikhalingmiut are often very strong. However, they are not always very visible to the *kabloona* eye. The Utkuhikhalingmiut dislike the physical demonstrativeness between adults, or between adults and other children, that is so common in our culture. They consider it childish (*nuqraqpaluktuq*) and unpleasant (*hujuujaq*) to see. Among them, only children under the age of three or four receive such expressions of tenderness; indeed, by the time a child is six

¹David Damas (1963:48-51) has glossed the term *unga* as “affection” in the Iglulik dialect; it is one of the two key concepts that he uses in his analysis of the logic of the Iglulik kinship system, the other being “obedience” (*nalar*). According to the Iglulik, relationships among certain categories of kin, such as siblings and cousins, are characterized primarily by *unga* feelings, and the relationships between other kinds of kin, especially certain classes of affine, are characterized by *nalar* feelings. It is possible that if I had inquired systematically along these lines, I might have found a similar pattern among the Utkuhikhalingmiut, although, partly because of different marriage customs, I do not believe that the distribution of *unga* and *nalar* feelings among the specific categories of kin would be identical with that found in Iglulik.

or seven he has learned not to solicit such demonstrativeness, and to resist it silently, sulkily — and once in a while with open rage — when it is teasingly offered. The affection shown to such older children — and there is considerable — is differently expressed. It is shown in the liberal allowance of butter and jam with which their bannock is spread; in the interest with which people watch them at their pursuits, helping to untangle string figures or offering advice on the manufacture of a fishhook. It is shown also in the warm expression of eyes, and in occasional approving remarks, which the child is meant to hear: “The child’s chatter is pleasant to hear.” This does not mean that physical contact among older children and adults is wholly lacking. There is a good deal of friendly horseplay between adolescents of the same sex, between siblings of either or both sexes, and between adolescent boys and adult men. Girls may comb and braid each others’ hair as a gesture of friendship; and smaller girls may hold hands as they walk. But by contrast with the open tenderness shown to children under three, all this seems very subdued.

Up to the age of three or four, physical and verbal demonstrativeness is lavished on children by adults and older children of both sexes, a pattern that is familiar from other Eskimo groups as well and that has given many kabloona observers the impression — which, I have elsewhere (1967) argued, is erroneous — that Eskimo children are totally spoiled. Their every wish is humored. They are fed whenever they cry, given if possible, whatever they demand, and generally soothed and pampered in every way. They are also very frequently the focus of social attention. When children first begin to respond to others — when they smile or gurgle, and when they first begin to imitate adult behavior, walking, talking, and “performing” on demand the various actions that adults playfully teach them, they are considered *niviuqnaqtuq* (charming): one wants to touch, to kiss or cuddle, to coo at them. *Littleness* seems to be a central characteristic of objects that are considered *niviuqnaqtuq*. In addition to babies, a great variety of small things, both live and inanimate, may produce *niviuq* feelings; newborn puppies (especially when there are no small children in the household), baby birds, a doll’s dress, even the inch-long slips of paper on which I recorded vocabulary — people used the term *niviuq* in connection with all these things. Old people, on the other hand, explicitly do *not* make one feel *niviuq*. One mother occasionally used to tease her small and very charming (*niviuq*) daughter by saying to her: “You don’t make me feel *niviuq*; you’re an old lady.”

Infants tend to be the center of affectionate attention from everyone, regardless of degree of kinship, though close relatives may be more demonstrative than others. Children past infancy tend to receive such attention primarily from members of their *ilammarigiit*: parents and grandparents, aunts and uncles, siblings and cousins. Of my acquaintances only one old man was demonstrative to *all* small children, regardless of how distantly they were related to him. Pretty children are said to be more charming (*niviuq*) than others are, and people are more demonstrative to them than to others. In the absence of prettiness, however, other infant characteristics may arouse *niviuq* feelings. Thus, one woman, speaking of a neighbor’s baby, who had a large nose, large, protruding eyes, and a bad case of cradle-cap, remarked: “He doesn’t make one feel very *niviuq*; only his little voice makes one feel *niviuq*.” The tape-recorded sounds of my newborn kabloona nephew, drinking a bottle, were also described as *niviuq* by the listening Utkuhikhalingmiut.

Utkuhikhalingmiut consider that it is in the nature of a child to wish to elicit demonstrative attention. When a small child behaves self-consciously, bouncing coyly, making “cute” faces, or “showing off” (as we would call it) in other ways, people remark: “He is being a child (*nutaraksiruuq*); he wants us to show him affection (*niviuq*).” Adults sympathize with this wish, encourage and indulge it for the first few years of a child’s life. The rationale is that the child lacks reason (*ihuma*). When he begins to acquire reason, the Utkuhikhalingmiut say, his behavior will change of its own accord and become more adult,

more circumspect.¹ Meanwhile, I think, the adults derive a good deal of enjoyment from the exuberant warmth of their relationships with small children – the only relationships in Utkuhikhalingmiut life in which warmth *is* so unrestrained.

An interesting point concerning this demonstrativeness is that in spite of its unrestrained quality it is highly patterned. I have mentioned that children at the “charming” (*niviuq*) age are kissed, cuddled, and “cooed” at by everyone. The Utkuhikhalingmiut have a word for this “cooing”: *akaak*; and *akaaking* takes several characteristic forms. Two of these are common to all Utkuhikhalingmiut; and Utkuhikhalingmiutaq *akaaking* a baby may nod repeatedly at it or may say tenderly: “Ee eee!” or “Vaaaa!” They are quite conscious of these *akaaking* patterns, and I was once asked: “What do kabloonas do when *they akaak* a child?” – a question to which I could not give a satisfactory general answer. There are also other forms of *akaaking* which are strictly dyadic. These consist of phrases, each of which is characteristic exclusively of the relationship between two people, the person *akaaking* and the person *akaaked*, and expresses the affectionate bond between them. A young man named Mannik is typical. When he is expressing affection for his three year old niece Saarak he will repeat one endearing phrase again and again: “Niviuqnaqturuuudli” (“you are kissable”; the vowel is drawn out tenderly). But when in former days he expressed affection for Saarak’s older sister Raigili he used a different phrase: “Oooo Raigili oo Raigili oo Raigili” – sung to the tune of the Farmer in the Dell. Other aunts and uncles will use different endearments when addressing the same children, but each will always use the same endearment to the same child. And the individual nature of each endearment is enhanced by the fact that it is always said in the same tone of voice. If one heard only the tone reproduced, say, on a tape, deleting the syllables themselves, one could tell which phrase was being “said”.

Utkuhikhalingmiut are as consciously sensitive to these dyadic *akaaks* as they are to the more general ones—the nods and “ee eee”s. I once heard a mother entertaining herself by teaching her small daughter to repeat, with proper words and tones, the endearments by which the latter was addressed, just as children are taught to recognize the kinship terms appropriate to the various people around them. Occasionally, such endearments may even replace a kinship term as a way of addressing or referring to a person. Thus one little girl refers to a certain old man as “my nonni-nonni”, because his endearing phrase for her is: “Nonni nonni; nonni nonni.” And the phrases that have been used as *akaaks* are remembered for years after the children concerned have outgrown *akaaking*. One woman told me what her brother’s *akaaking* phrases had been for each of his younger siblings, ten to fifteen years earlier. It is interesting to speculate on what the psychological and social implications of such *akaaking* might be. The sensitivity to the forms of *akaaking*, which I have described, and the fact that these endearments can be used to *label* a relationship (as when the endearment is substituted for a kinship term) seem clear evidence that these demonstrative dyadic relationships are extremely important to Utkuhikhalingmiut, but the precise nature of this importance is a question for future analysis.

(3) Protectiveness (*nakli*).

The most important of all the aspects of affection, however, is that of protective concern which the Utkuhikhalingmiut label *nakli*. Though, as I have said, the term *nakli* as it occurs in spontaneous speech sometimes carries connotations of “wanting to be with” a loved person, and though it is also sometimes associated with wanting to “cuddle” (*niviuq*), nevertheless the *central* meaning of the term appears to be the protective one. I judge this partly because when I *asked* people what the term meant, I was always told that it referred to the desire to feed someone who was hungry, warm someone who was cold, and protect

¹For a description of the way in which this change actually occurs see Chapter III of my Ph.D. thesis (1967).

someone who was in danger of physical injury. I judge it also on the basis of the fact that the term seems to occur spontaneously in protective contexts more frequently than it occurs in other contexts. Often the protectiveness referred to is of the physical sort elicited in the verbal definitions of the term. *Nakli* (protective) feelings are given, for example, as reasons for taking care of the ill, for adopting orphans, for marrying widows, and for performing services for helpless anthropologists, all categories of people who are in need of physical assistance. And the term was chosen by missionaries to translate the Biblical “love”, a protective concept. As the Utkuhikhalingmiut say: “Because God *naklis* us, if we do what he wishes, he will save us from Satan and from burning in hell.”

But protectiveness in a broader, not exclusively physical, sense may be referred to, too. If a child who is perceived as being still small enough to lack reason (*ihuma*) cries or mopes in the absence of someone he loves (*unga*); if he screams or swats at people when his wishes are interfered with; or is distressed for any reason whatsoever, people say: “*Naklingnaqtuq*” (he makes one feel *nakli*). In these contexts it may be that “pity” is the appropriate gloss for the term. Indeed, a bilingual informant (a Baffin Islander, not an Utkuhikhalingmiut) once translated as “poor little thing” the word *naklingnaqtuq*, which I have translated above as: “He makes one feel *nakli*” (protective).

In a still broader sense protectiveness (*nakli* behavior) is a standard of moral behavior which serves as a major criterion of human goodness. In this sense it is a central value of Utkuhikhalingmiut culture. Almost any anti-social behavior or any offender may be described as *naklingnangiit* (not *nakli*), or — with characteristic euphemism — *naklingnaqloangiit* (not very *nakli*).¹ Acts that are particularly liable to be labelled non-*nakli* are those of stinginess, greed, a reluctance to help or to share with others, and expressions of bad temper ranging from silent sulking to violent outbursts.²

Ideally, in the Utkuhikhalingmiut view, a good person, that is, a person whose behavior is characterized by protectiveness, who is helpful, generous, and even-tempered, will demonstrate these qualities to all people — even to strangers, kabloonas, and so on — not just to his close kin. In this sense protectiveness is a universal value. It is universal also in that everybody — not Utkuhikhalingmiut alone, but any human being except the youngest of children — is judged by the extent to which his behavior measures up to this ideal. Small children are thought to feel *unga*, to want to be with people they love, but they only gradually begin to love in a nurturant (*nakli*) way — a development that I think the Utkuhikhalingmiut associate with the growth of *ihuma* (reason).³

In the universality of its applicability protectiveness (*nakli*) differs from the other aspects of affection: wanting to be with a person (which, as we have seen, may also be expressed by *nakli*, or by *unga*), and wanting to kiss or cuddle a person (*nivuiq*). These latter aspects of affection are expressed and, I think, felt primarily within the *ilammarigiit*. To be sure, in the details of its expression there are differences between the way the protective ideal is applied to people in general and the way it is applied to one's own *ilammarigiit*. The only *nakli* quality that one must express with rigorous universality in order to avoid criticism is even temper. One should be mild and sociable with everyone, and never under

¹It is possible that such condemnations on occasion refer to the feelings of the observer, rather than to the undesirable behavior or its perpetrator. In other words, the meaning of *naklingnangiit* may sometimes be *not* “that behavior is unprotective” but rather “that behavior doesn't make *me* feel protective.” Often, however, the meaning is unambiguous, as, for instance, when a person says: “The missionary says we should behave protectively, should love (*nakli*) one another but ‘those people’ (e.g., the neighbors) don't do that (*naklingnangiit*).”

²See the section on Hostility, below.

³See the section on Reason, below.

any circumstances angry or resentful. With regard to sharing with and helping others, the ideal, stated in its broadest form, is also universalistic. No distinction is made between *ilammarigiit* and others; one should help everyone. As the Anglican lay leader of the Utkuhikhalingmiut once said to me: “I know you believe in God, because you help everybody — not just a few people, but everybody.” However, I do not think a person is expected to help or share with everyone equally. All that seems to be required in relations with people outside one’s *ilammarigiit* is that one never refuse a request (requests made of people outside one’s *ilammarigiit* are always modest in the extreme) and that one volunteer a *little* help, as needed, or a *small* share of whatever one has that others have not. In reality, the universality of the sharing-and-helping ideal is diluted still further by the tendency for relations between *ilammarigiit* to be unfriendly. By and large, the ideal of even temper is not strictly achieved in reality, either. Though Utkuhikhalingmiut tend to be far more restrained than Euro-Canadians in their expressions of hostility, as will appear below, they do indulge in a good deal of gossip about members of *ilammarigiit* other than their own. The gossip mostly focuses on the un-*nakli* qualities of those families: their jealousy, greed, stinginess, unhelpfulness, or bad temper, while confidently asserting the *nakli* virtues of one’s own kin.

So strong is the value placed on nurturant (*nakli*) behavior that *nakli* rhetoric and motives play an important role in many areas of Utkuhikhalingmiut life. One area in which they are significant is the management of inappropriate behavior — much of which, as we have seen, is defined as unnurturant, not-*nakli*. One of the ways in which such unnurturant behavior is dealt with is to counter it with its antithesis, nurturant behavior, or with a semblance thereof. I have distinguished four kinds of nurturant behavior which occur in response to undesirable behavior. The first is gracious (or superficially gracious) submission to a demand which is seen as untoward or inappropriate. The second, which is closely allied to the first, consists in offering reassurance to the offended, either in the form of words, or in the form of food, or both. It is possible that these two kinds of behavior are not really distinct at all. The impression on which I base the distinction is that in some cases the *nakli* offering is not a response to a demand, but rather a free gift — as when a mother tells a child who is sulking for unknown reasons: “You are cared for (*nakli*’d); have some tea.” It is quite possible, however, that moping or sulking is perceived as a demand — for reassurance? — even when no specific request has been made.

A third form taken by *nakli* behavior as a social control mechanism consists in drawing attention to the undesirable behavior by contrasting it with approved behavior. No critical remarks are made; the aggrieved person simply does for the offender what the latter *should* have done for *him*.

It seems to me that these forms of *nakli* behavior may have several different meanings when they occur in reaction to the misbehavior of others. Often, I think, a nurturant response is an attempt to generate *nakli* behavior in the offender, to make him give up his inappropriate behavior. It may pacify the offender (or potential offender) by reassuring him that he is cared for, or by giving him what he demands, so that he need have no grievance against society. The graciousness that is shown to strangers, especially to kabloonas, the compliance with their requests and the anticipation of their needs and wishes, may be understood partly in this light. I think. As the Utkuhikhalingmiut put it, if one is afraid of a person one will agree with him.¹

Nakli behavior is used as a pacification device also in situations in which the protective person is not, at least consciously, afraid — namely, in dealing with the hostile or aggressive behavior of children. In this context, an adult’s *nakli* behavior — feeding, complying with the child’s screamed demand, reassuring the child that it is cared for — sometimes seems

¹See the section on Fear, pages 32 — 33, and the conclusions, page 50, for other aspects of this obligingness.

clearly motivated by affectionate feelings, if one can judge from the adult's tone of voice and from the sympathetic tenor of accompanying remarks: "It is difficult for a child not to have what it wants, since it has no reason (*ihuma*) yet."¹

Nakli behavior may also generate *nakli* behavior in an offender by creating a sense of obligation, which will inhibit the anti-social acts, or by shaming the offender with the contrast between his own behavior and that of the morally superior person who treats him with consideration and concern. This interpretation is my own; I do not know whether Utkuhikhalingmiut would agree with it. Some support for my analysis, however, is perhaps provided by Freuchen (1961:155-160) in a delightful story about his Greenlandic Eskimo wife, Navarana, who, outraged by the smallness of a gift of meat she had received, responded with exaggerated gratitude. She loaded down the unhappy donor with all of the rarest kabloona foodstuffs in her own larder, and sent her away wailing with shame.

The fourth form that *nakli* behavior, or its facsimile, takes in response to misbehavior consists, paradoxically, of threats – threats phrased in such a way that the threatener is represented as the protector. Mothers, for example, warn their small children that if they do not stop crying and get into bed (or do whatever else their parents want them to do), a kabloona will adopt them or a lemming (or a wolverine or a dog or a rabid fox) will come and bite or eat them. Such threats are always accompanied by assurances of maternal protection: "Shh – be quiet so that I can hide you and you won't be found when the kabloona comes." It is interesting to note, incidentally, that when the threat is one of "adoption", not only is the threatening adult presenting *himself* as nurturant (*nakli*), he is also presenting the boogymen as nurturant – assuming that adoption is considered a nurturant act. And there is another kind of threat used to make small children stop crying, which is even more clearly protective. This is a warning to the effect that if the child does not stop crying he will hurt himself: either some part of him will bleed or his tears will wet his clothing and he will freeze. Again the threatener is represented as the protector.

All of the above points have to do with the ways in which *nakli* behavior is used in attempts to alter the behavior of an offender. *Nakli* acts may also be a way of expressing, in disguised form, one's own feelings of hostility toward the offender, quite apart from any attempts to reform the latter. Hostile feelings, not-*nakli* feelings, are so strongly censured in Utkuhikhalingmiut society that people tend to inhibit the direct expression of such feelings and often to deny altogether that they feel hostile.² I think the ethical logic of the Utkuhikhalingmiut is something like this: Human beings are defined as beings-to-be-nurtured (*nakli*); nurturant (*nakli*) feelings and behavior are the antithesis of hostile (*urulu*, *ningaaq*, *huaq*, etc.) feelings and behavior; therefore the latter should not be directed toward human beings. This interpretation is supported, I think, by the fact that Utkuhikhalingmiut do direct both physical and verbal aggression toward dogs, who are *not* defined as beings-to-be-nurtured (*nakli*). If a person who is disliked makes a social overture or a request, one does not like to refuse outright; the refusal might be construed as hostile; but if one can pretend that the refusal is in the interests of the other person ("no, you can't come; you'll hurt yourself"), then the disliked person can be denied what he asks or isolated with impunity.

So much for the role of *nakli* rhetoric and motives in the handling of undesirable behavior. Nurturant sentiments are also used to rationalize a variety of other ends. A person wishing to present a legitimate reason for asking a favor, for delaying a trip, or for putting someone to inconvenience will often appeal not to his own need, but to that of a third

¹ For a fuller statement of the logic in this quotation see the section on Reason, below.

² See the sections on Hostility and Humor, below.

person: "My brother is cold and would like some tea"; "the children will freeze if we travel today." Or he may disguise his wish in the form of solicitude for the person of whom he is making the request. My Utkuhikhalingmiut "father", for example, wishing that I would make him a cup of soup, would suggest to me that *I* felt cold and should make *myself* some soup. My Baffin Island informant, in giving me biographical data on Utkuhikhalingmiut (and other) marriages, almost always gave nurturant motives as the reason for a marriage: "People told him to marry her, because she had no one to take care of her." And we have seen that nurturant sentiments are used to rationalize the social order, too, specifically the subordination of women as grateful assistants to men in their daily activities (page 11).

The high value that is placed on loving (*nakli'*ing) and being loved (*nakli'*d) makes the ambivalence toward these situations, to which I referred earlier, particularly interesting. I think that the ambivalence – especially that about *being* loved (*nakli'*d) – is due at least in part to the conflict between nurturant (*nakli*) feelings and behavior on the one hand and other Utkuhikhalingmiut values on the other hand, especially the value placed on self-sufficiency and independence. In theory, the people who are most to be protected are the helpless (*ajuqtut*): small children, sick people, the elderly, and others who are unable to cope by themselves, either through lack of material means or through lack of knowledge of the environment (like lone female anthropologists).¹ Small children – and even infants too young to understand – may be soothed when they cry or sulk by being assured that they are "someone to be taken care of" (*naklingnaqtut*), and I was similarly reassured sometimes when I was out of sorts or when I hesitated to ask someone to do me a service. Proper Utkuhikhalingmiut adults are not, I think, as often reassured explicitly in this way, perhaps for fear of embarrassing them. Yet Utkuhikhalingmiut seem to recognize that adults too have a wish to be *nakli'*d. One man who was away from camp on a two-week trading trip expressed this in a note which he sent back to his family: "You who remain behind are people to be *nakli'*d." On the whole, however, it is *discomfort* about being *nakli'*d that is uppermost in discussions on the subject with adult Utkuhikhalingmiut. Various Utkuhikhalingmiut agreed explicitly and strongly that an adult does not wish to be an object of concern to others, does not wish to be *nakli'*d. One woman blushed when I asked whether wives were *nakli'*d by their husbands. "A little bit," she said, and then added quickly, "but mostly it's the children who are *nakli'*d." She blushed also when she told me that her father had *nakli'*d her "very much" even after she had grown up, and again she added quickly, "but it's all right now; he has stopped *nakli'*ing me so much."

Such feelings about being *nakli'*d may partially explain why Utkuhikhalingmiut often deny or minimize physical and emotional pain, with a smile and an assurance that they are "all right". It was a Baffin Islander who gave me some insight into the dynamics of this stoicism, but I think her reasoning may be similar to that of Utkuhikhalingmiut.² She told me that one of several reasons why Eskimos in hospital do not like to tell the medical staff that they are in pain is that "they are grateful to the staff who are helping them to get over their sickness. They know the staff are worried enough about it; why let them know they are unhappy and have a pain, and make them still more worried." And on another occasion explaining why she had not talked to me about the death of her baby son, she said: "I used to get lonesome when I was a little girl and used to cry when I went to bed without letting my grandparents (with whom she lived) know, because I loved them so much...If they found out I was unhappy they might get sad and ... pity me, and lots of Eskimos don't like to be pitied. ...If I knew I made you sad ... I was going to be sadder still and sorry for myself..."³ Here it appears that a person who does not wish to be *nakli'*d, with all that this

¹In other contexts, however, kabloonas are borderline cases with regard to the possession of qualities that inspire *nakli* feelings. In this respect they resemble the dogs to whom, in the Utkuhikhalingmiut view, they are genetically related.

²See also the section on *Ihuma*, below.

³These quotations are taken from letters written in English; the Eskimo terms are not available. The relationship between the concepts of "pity" and *nakli* in my informant's thinking, however, is indicated by her translation of the word *naklingnaqtuq* as "poor little thing" (page 17 above).

implies of dependence and pity, may switch the situation around so that he becomes the nurturant (*nakli*'ing) person, protecting others from the sadness that they would feel if he allowed them to feel nurturant (*nakli*) toward him. The same kind of reasoning, I think, explains, in part, the remarks my Utkuhikhalingmiut friends made when talking about my departure: "We will miss (*hujuuqaq*) you when you leave – but we'll be all right (*naamak*); only S. (aged three) will be unhappy (*naamangii*); poor little thing (*naklingnaqtuq*)."¹ I think people may have been reassuring me that I need not feel protectively concerned (*nakli*) for them when I left – thereby transforming into concern (*nakli*) for the three-year old and for me their own wish not to be an object of concern. But, as I have said, people do not wish to feel too *nakli* either. As my informant observed: "It can prevent one from sleeping."

Kindness and Gratitude

The concepts of kindness and gratitude are related to the concept of nurturance or protectiveness (*nakli*), which we have been discussing, in that one of the qualities of a person who is nurturant (*nakli*) is kindness. Put in other words: he inspires gratitude. The Utkuhikhalingmiut express both of our English concepts of gratitude and kindness by one term: *hatuq*,¹ which in the form *hatuqnaq* can be rendered by the one gloss: "inspires gratitude".

I do not have a verbal definition for the term *hatuqnaq*, but the word occurs frequently in everyday speech, referring sometimes to a quality of a situation and sometimes to a quality of a person. Many different kinds of situations make one feel grateful (*hatuq*). One is grateful (*hatuq*) when one is materially helped, or when a difficult interpersonal or physical situation in which one is involved is eased. When one has good luck in hunting, when one is given food, fuel, clothing, tool materials, or any other object that is desirable or necessary; when sleds run easily over smooth snow or ice, instead of having to be tugged and hauled through soft snow or jagged ice; when people whose presence is undesirable leave, or when a loved person returns; when people who have behaved badly mend their ways or make amends, one feels grateful (*hatuq*).

The connection between nurturance (*nakli*) and gratitude (*hatuq*), which was mentioned above, lies in the nature of the personal qualities that "inspire gratitude". In order to be considered kind or "one who inspires gratitude" a person must not only respond freely to requests, but must also offer help spontaneously, on occasion, in the form of goods or services. And in addition it is important that he be even-tempered, thereby demonstrating that he is not frightening (*kappia*, *iqhi*, *ilira*), so that one need not hesitate to ask help from him. It is apparent that the Utkuhikhalingmiut concept of "kindness" is considerably broader than our own, and that the label is more difficult to earn.

Often the feeling of gratitude will be expressed verbally. "Hatuqnaq!" (it makes one feel grateful), one will exclaim. But the Utkuhikhalingmiut, like other Eskimos, place a high value on reciprocity, so when it is a person who has inspired gratitude, the latter feeling is very often given material as well as verbal expression. The person who is grateful (*hatuqtuq*) will give a gift to the person who has helped him, or will offer to perform some service for him.

¹Another term, *quja*, is also in frequent use, but the Utkuhikhalingmiut consider this a Netsilik term. In my data, the Utkuhikhalingmiut use *quja* in all the same contexts as *hatuq*, and the two terms appear to be close, if not complete, synonyms. The Netsilik, who also use both terms, consider *hatuq* a stronger expression than *quja*. When the weather is good, or when one catches a fish, one says in Netsilik, "Qujanaq" (it makes one grateful), whereas if a loved relative comes home safely from the hospital, one says "Hatuqnaq" (it makes one grateful). But the Utkuhikhalingmiut do not appear to make this distinction.

Happiness

The last emotion to be considered in this complex of highly valued feelings is happiness (*quvia*). Happy feelings are not only pleasanter to entertain than are unhappy ones, they are also a moral good in a sense which, I think, is not true for us. I shall elaborate on this point below.

I did not obtain a verbal definition for the term *quvia* but have glossed it as “happiness”; it occurs as a translation for this word in the Eskimo religious literature. The term occurred frequently in spontaneous speech, both as an expression of a person’s own feeling and as a judgment on other people’s behavior. People who laugh, smile, joke, and enjoy telling stories are judged to feel *quvia*, and they are said to rouse *quvia* feelings in others. Enjoyable experiences as diverse as listening to music, dancing, playing, fishing, chasing lemmings or stoning ptarmigans, traveling (under good conditions), visiting with pleasant company or being with a loved person, being physically warm, and eating are all described as “making one feel happy” (*quvianaqtuq*). It is interesting that in one instance happy (*quvia*) feelings were expressed – smilingly – as a “wish to cry”. The reference was to a tape of opera music that I sometimes played. Two of my Utkuhikhalingmiut friends, a man of about forty and a girl of about eighteen, enjoyed the tape very much. They requested it often: “Play the music that makes one want to cry.” Ordinarily, crying is defined as angry (*qiquq*) behavior. (See the section on Hostility, below).

Happy (*quvia*) feelings contrast with the unpleasant feeling of loneliness (*hujuujaq*) and with disapproved feelings such as hostility (*ningaaq*, *urulu*, *huaq*, *qiquq*). Happy (*quvia*) behavior – smiling, joking, a liking for sociable conversation and story-telling – is a sign to others that a person is not angry. It is in this sense that happiness is a moral good.¹ I was told that if a person feels happy (*quvia*) all the time he lacks reason (*ihuma*), but in general a person who feels *quvia* is a good person; he is safe, not frightening; one need not feel *kappia*, *iqhi*, or *ilira* with him. By the same token, the person is probably kind (*quja*); the two terms, *quvia* and *quja* – together with two others: *tiphi* (amusing) and *pittau* (good)² – very often occur in conjunction in descriptions of liked people. On the other hand, a person who is kind (*quja*), who makes one grateful, is not necessarily one who makes one happy (*quvia*). This distinction was made in the case of some kabloona fishermen who visited us one summer. They were said to be kind (*quja*) because they gave us clothes, food, and trade goods, but they did not make the Utkuhikhalingmiut feel very *quvia*, because their company was not very agreeable.

Hostility and Aggression

Having discussed some of the highly valued emotions in Utkuhikhalingmiut culture, I now turn to one of the most deplored feelings: hostility. As a warm, protective, nurturant, even-tempered person represents the essence of goodness, so an unkind, bad-tempered person represents the opposite. Expressions of ill temper toward human beings (as distinct from dogs) are never considered justified in anyone over the age of three or four; and even when one expresses hostility toward dogs one must defend it as a disciplinary action. The Utkuhikhalingmiut, moreover, define unkindness and bad temper more broadly than we do, and condemn it far more stringently, with the result that “bad temper” and “aggressiveness” are two of the first qualities that they notice about us – as indicated, for example, by the

¹“He is a happy person” is an expression of approval among the Alaskan Eskimos of my acquaintance, too.

²*Tiphi* is discussed below in the section on Humor. *Pittau* is a term of approval that has as broad a range of reference as the English gloss, “good”. I do not discuss it in this report.

stories that children bring back from boarding school. In the Utkuhikhalingmiut view kabloonas are about as bad tempered as the dogs from which we are descended.¹

I recorded five terms that refer to aspects of bad temper² and one term that has hostile meanings among a wide variety of others. These terms I have glossed as follows:

huaq: to aggress verbally against another; to scold.

ningaaq: to aggress physically against another; to feel or express hostility.

qiquq: literally, to be clogged up with foreign matter; metaphorically, to be on the point of tears; to feel hostile.

urulu: to feel, express, or arouse hostility or annoyance. The term may also be used as an expression of sympathy at the misfortunes of others.

tuhuu: to want for oneself a possession or a skill belonging to someone else; to want to participate in another's activities or life situation; or to rouse such wishes.

hujuujaq: The "central" meaning of this term – that is, the one that is elicited when one *asks* for a definition – is: to be unhappy because of the absence of other people, or to rouse such unhappiness. I mention it here because it occurs spontaneously in a wide variety of situations that have nothing to do with loneliness – situations that provoke other unpleasant feelings, including hostility.

As the terms indicate, the condemnation of bad temper applies to a variety of behaviors, ranging from physical aggression (*ningaaq*) to silent withdrawal (*qiquq*). And in observing the applications of these terms to actual behavioral situations, I was even more struck by the range of behavior that was condemned – some hardly noticeable as anti-social to my less sensitive eye. I will discuss the behaviors associated with each term in turn.

(a) Verbal abuse (*huaq*).

The term *huaq* refers to verbal abuse, which may be directed either against people or against dogs. I lack a verbal definition for the term, but in practice it is used quite broadly; almost any sort of criticism, other than that which is expressed explicitly as a joke, is labelled "verbal abuse" (*huaq*). Interestingly, Rasmussen (1931: 461) gives "scolds" as the intransitive meaning of the verb *huaq*— (*suaq*— in his orthography) and "shouts commandingly to him to do this or that" as the transitive meaning. My experience agrees with Rasmussen's intransitive meaning, but I found no difference between the transitive and intransitive senses of the term. The term can be used transitively, as well as intransitively, to refer to criticism rather than to commands. And the voice is by no means always raised. Sometimes it is — and a raised voice is almost always taken as an indication that the speaker is *huaqing* — but on the other hand, criticism expressed in a conversational tone of voice will also be considered *huaqing*, if it is addressed to the person who is being criticized. This last

¹In this connection it is interesting to compare the opinion obtained by Rasmussen (1931:128) from an old Netsilik Eskimo: "It is generally believed that white men have quite the same minds as small children. Therefore one should always give way to them. They are easily angered, and when they cannot get their will they are moody and, like children, have the strangest ideas and fancies."

²Again I am creating an overarching category — "bad temper" — which may be foreign to the Utkuhikhalingmiut; I have not recorded an Eskimo term which subsumes the others recorded here.

statement is true, at least, if the person is an adult; I am not sure it is true in the case of a child.

Huaqing behavior is, on the whole, frowned on; it makes other people feel unhappy (*hujuujaq*), annoyed (*urulu*), and sometimes frightened (*kappia*, *iqhi*), because the *huaqing* is considered to express feelings of annoyance (*urulu*). Occasionally, however, the word is used in a positive, disciplinary context. It is all right to *huaq* dogs. "Everybody does it," people said; "it makes them behave." Anthropologists who misbehave may also be *threatened* with a scolding (*huaq*). But I was not actually given a scolding. Instead, I was given a lecture phrased in general terms, about how people ought not to get angry (*ningaaq*, *urulu*) and "if they do, then the deacon in Gjoa Haven will come and scold (*huaq*) them: it will be frightening." No reference to my own behavior was made in the lecture; I was free to make my own inferences. The wish to "scold" – that is, to criticize *directly* – was attributed to a third person who was 150 miles away in Gjoa Haven and who was not really very likely to appear.

This positive attitude toward scolding (*huaq*) appeared rather infrequently, however. Even in a disciplinary context, people tended to feel negatively toward the idea of scolding. Thus, for example, when the deacon in Gjoa Haven baptizes an Utkuhikhalingmiut child he tells the parents that they should "*teach* (*ilihaak*) the child; don't scold (*huaq*) him." The deacon is, to be sure, a Baffin Islander, not an Utkuhikhalingmiutaq, but my Utkuhikhalingmiut informant repeated his words with approval. And the Utkuhikhalingmiut very rarely do seem to *huaq* children. I make this statement tentatively, because I do not know whether a certain annoyed tone of voice (reminiscent of a bovine "mooo"), which is often addressed to children, is considered *huaqing*. I do not know, either, whether remarks intended to shame children into self-control are defined as *huaqing*. In any case, only a few disciplinary incidents that I *knew* to be labelled *huaqing* occurred. The household with which I lived for seventeen months contained from two to seven children at different seasons, and these children ranged in age from newborn to approximately eighteen. Yet in this household I only heard two scoldings (which I knew to be so labelled) in that period of time. One was delivered by one of the two fathers of the household to his fourteen year old daughter who had been for the first time to Inuvik the previous winter. She appeared to be intensely unhappy at home on her return in the spring, and she showed it in a number of anti-social ways:¹ she consistently pretended to be deaf, so that she could not hear the requests her parents made of her; she was as sulky and as demanding of her mother as a small child; and worst of all, she tormented her three year old sister by grabbing her toys, stepping on her foot till she screamed, and so on – unheard-of behavior toward a small child. Her parents had overtly ignored much of this behavior, only occasionally teasing their daughter about her deafness or "mooing" at her when she made the three-year-old cry. But finally, one day toward the end of the summer, when she had made her sister scream with rage, her father *huaqed* her, telling her that she was unfeminine and out of her mind.

The only other instance of scolding (*huaq*) that I observed in this household was administered by the same father to his six year old daughter. She too had offended by getting annoyed at her little sister, whereupon her father told her – in a firm but not a loud voice – that she should not continually get annoyed (*urulu*) at her little sister. The family's discomfort about this incident was evidenced later when I tried to find out the exact words used in the scolding, some of which I had missed. The children's mother (with whom I was alone) refused, with apparent embarrassment, to tell me exactly what her husband had said. I noted embarrassment about *huaqing* also one day when I was being given a lecture on the Bible. The story was that of the money-changers who were driven out of the temple. "*Jesus huaqed* them," said my informant, uncomfortably; then he added hastily: "But he only did

¹This case is described in more detail in an appendix to Charles Hobart's N.C.R.C. report (unpublished).

that once. The money-changers were being very bad, *very bad*, and refusing to listen to him.” One of Jesus’s godly virtues is that he never scolds (*huaq*), never gets angry (*ningaaq*, *urulu*). *Huaqing* is antithetical to the protective (*nakli*) behavior that is so highly valued – and that is also one of Jesus’s central virtues, as seen by the Utkuhikhalingmiut. My impression is that even when people shout at dogs “to make them behave” some discomfort is felt. I judge this from the defensive way in which such behavior is explained: “Everybody does it. *Everybody*.”

(b) Physical aggression (*ningaaq*).

As the term *huaq* expresses the idea of verbal aggression, so *ningaaq* expresses the idea of physical aggression, fighting. This is the meaning that is elicited when one asks for a verbal definition of *ningaaq*. The term is applied to a variety of such behaviors: angry flailing on the part of a small child; a physical fight observed between two kabloonas; Jesus whipping the money-changers; and, in the most violent of all contexts: “if God ever *ningaaqs*, he will destroy the world.”

The term occurs also in situations in which no actual physical aggression has taken place, but in which it is clear that anger is felt. When a small child screams in frustration; when a person (usually a kabloona, since Utkuhikhalingmiut very rarely do such things) makes a direct accusation against another; or when a person withdraws from company in sulky silence – he may be said to be *ningaaq*. It is possible that in labelling these latter kinds of behavior *ningaaq*, people are implicitly stating a belief that a person who feels *ningaaq* will sooner or later show it in overtly aggressive acts. But the Utkuhikhalingmiut, like other Eskimos, believe that angry thoughts can kill, simply of their own force – that is, by what we would consider a sort of “magical” projection – even when the angry person does not tangibly attack the person he is angry with. So the *wish* to harm is as aggressive, as potentially lethal as a physical attack.

It is no wonder that Utkuhikhalingmiut heartily fear and condemn angry feelings and behavior. Anger is not only incompatible with affection and nurturance, the highest values; it can also kill. The Utkuhikhalingmiut distinguish, however, between two kinds of anger (*ningaaq*) in terms of their causes. If a person is frequently angry (*ningaaq*) but gets over it easily, this is a sign that he has very little reason (*ihuma*); he is like a child. A child’s frequent tempers are a sign that his *ihuma* is still not developed. On the other hand, if a person is angry (*ningaaq*) for long periods of time, if he nurses *ningaaq* thoughts “every day, every day,” this is due to his having too much *ihuma*. My impression is that this latter type of *ningaaq* is more frightening, and that it is primarily the latter that is thought to cause death.¹ Happily for us, Eskimos who are familiar with kabloonas and accustomed to their expressive patterns, apparently tend to assign kabloona bad temper to the “childish” category. Two different bilingual Eskimos of my acquaintance, one a Netsilik, the other a Baffin Islander, made almost exactly the same remark to me about the difference between the tempers of kabloonas and Eskimos: “If a kabloona is angry with you he can be angry with you in the morning and forget all about it by afternoon. But if an Eskimo is angry with you it’s something to remember; he’ll never speak to you again.”

(c) Being clogged up (*qiquq*).

The terms *qiquq* (to be clogged up) and *urulu* (to feel annoyed) seem somewhat vaguer in their scope than the two so far discussed – though perhaps this vagueness is only a sign of insufficient data. *Qiquq* in its physical sense is applied to objects such as ventilators, fishing

¹My impression is that the other concepts that have to do with ill temper – *huaq*, *qiquq*, *urulu* – are all associated with too little *ihuma*, rather than with too much; but my data are not adequate on this point. For further discussion of attitudes toward anger associated with various states of *ihuma*, see the section on Reason, below.

holes, and primus nipples, which get, quite literally, clogged up and have to be cleaned out. In its emotional sense, the behavior most often labelled *qiquq* in my experience was sulky, silent withdrawal: sitting with head lowered or turned away from company; ignoring or rejecting friendly overtures; refusing to answer questions; leaving a gathering precipitately. Signs of imminent tears are also labelled *qiquq*. Whether openly aggressive behavior may also be defined as *qiquq*, I do not yet know.

Qiquq behavior is thought to be motivated by angry (*ningaaq*) feelings, but my hunch is that it is associated very largely with childish anger, that is, with anger caused by having too little, rather than too much, reason (*ihuma*), and that it is therefore less feared than some other kinds of behavior associated with anger. People referred to *qiquq* behavior as *urulu* (annoying, or too bad), *tiphi* (funny), *hujuujaq* (unpleasant), and not-*quvia* (also, unpleasant); I never heard it called *kappia* or *iqhi* (frightening).

(d) Annoyance (*urulu*).

Urulu is the hardest to define of all the terms I recorded for ill temper. The exclamation "Urulunaq!" ("it's annoying!" or "it's too bad!") is very frequently heard and can be a response to a great variety of situations, including unpleasant physical conditions (bad weather, tiring work), and being thwarted in one's wishes or activities (losing a knife, spilling one's tea). The tone of the exclamation belies any hostility or irritation implicit in the verbal content. If the reference is to an untoward event in one's own life the tone will probably be cheerfully matter-of-fact; if the reference is to events in another's life it will be sympathetic — or, again, matter-of-fact. Even when it is a third person's misbehavior that draws the comment, the person commenting — always behind the offender's back — usually appears to express regret, rather than genuine annoyance when he says "Urulunaq!" He may in fact *be* annoyed, but annoyance does not show in the conversational manner with which he says "Urulunaq!" and I am intuitively convinced that the exclamation is viewed neither by the speaker nor by his audience as an admission of ill temper. My reason for this assumption will be clearer in a moment.

The base *urulu* — occurs also in another word: *uruluruq*, which I translate as "he/she is annoyed" — as distinct from the more impersonal *urulunaq*: "it is annoying". "Uruluruq", in contrast to the exclamation "Urulunaq!" is an *accusation*, a description of another's behavior, rather than a comment on the speaker's feelings about the situation; it may be uttered in a disapproving tone, with eyes narrowed in a gesture of criticism — always, of course, in the absence of the offender. The accusation seems to be sparked by behavior that is classified under all three of the terms for ill temper so far discussed, i.e., by both verbal and physical aggression and by withdrawal. If a man scolds his wife; if a child sulks or if she surreptitiously pinches her younger sister and makes her cry; if a woman makes a separate kettle of tea for herself instead of joining the neighbors when they drink theirs; or if she gives another woman (of whom she is jealous) an inferior portion of the boiled fish she is distributing — people will remark behind the offender's back: "He/she is annoyed" (*uruluruq*).

The exact nature of the conceptual difference between the term *urulu* on the one hand and the terms *huaq*, *ningaaq*, and *qiquq* on the other is still unclear to me. It is possible that *urulu* refers to an *emotion*, which is thought to underlie the *behavior* described as "scolding" (*huaq*) and "clogging" (*qiquq*). And in contrast to *ningaaq*, which may refer either to a feeling or to behavior, my intuitive impression is that *urulu* is a milder word. But all of these possibilities need to be explored further.

One fact that is clear is that Utkuhikhalingmiut tend to deny to others — and, I think, often to themselves — the existence of their ill-tempered feelings. This is quite in keeping

with the discomfort they express about *huaqing*, which was mentioned earlier. It is significant that among adults I recorded the expressions *urulu(ruq)* and *qiquq(tuq)* only in the third person – he/she is annoyed/clogged. I never heard it in the first person, and never in the second person either, except when an adult was lecturing a child who was out of sorts. *Ningaaq(tuq)* – he/she is angry – was also recorded almost entirely in the third person. The one exception was an occasion on which my Utkuhikhalingmiut “father” asked me whether *I* was feeling *ningaaq*. The question – normal enough in my own culture – struck me as extraordinarily bald after months of living with Utkuhikhalingmiut indirection. Such confrontations simply do not occur between adults in the ordinary course of Utkuhikhalingmiut life; it took an extremely difficult situation created by a volatile kabloona to provoke the question, and I read it as a sign of my “father’s” desperation. “Are you angry?” he asked. “You get angry (*ningaaq*) easily. *We* don’t get angry here. Only you do.”¹

It is the contrast between this unwillingness to admit genuine annoyance and the apparent ease with which people exclaim, “Urulunaq!” (too bad! it is annoying!) that makes me think the exclamation is not viewed as a real expression of annoyance. The same form – *urulunaq(tuq)* – may, however, occur without being an exclamation, in which case it does refer to real annoyance, and the discomfort about expressing such feelings is again in evidence. One woman, for example, once described to me the way she felt about her children. “Sometimes they’re lovable (*naklingnaqtut*, *niviuqnaqtut*), and sometimes they’re annoying (*urulunaqtut*). Everybody finds children annoying sometimes – everybody: M (naming another mother), and I, and everybody –.” Her defensiveness was notable.

(e) Jealousy and greed (*tuhuu*).

I have included a discussion of jealousy, envy, or greed (*tuhuu*) with my discussion of terms denoting bad temper, because greed and envy are forms of aggression, and in the Utkuhikhalingmiut scheme of things jealousy, like bad temper, is antithetical to the protective, nurturant (*nakli*) behavior that is so highly valued, and like bad temper its presence is denied in oneself and in one’s close kin. One hears remarks like the following – always referring to members of *ilammarigiit* other than one’s own: “He feels *tuhuu*; he doesn’t listen to the deacon; the deacon says we should feel *nakli*. *We* don’t feel *tuhuu*; we’re all right.”

The term *tuhuu* occurs in a variety of situations in which a person wants something that belongs to somebody else: his skill (for instance, his knowledge of English), or his possessions (his fishhooks, his food, or his wife). It refers also to the wish to participate in another’s activities – a hunting trip or a game. It is mostly adults outside one’s own *ilammarigiit* who are accused (as always, behind their backs) of feeling *tuhuu*. I am not sure whether children are thought to feel *tuhuu* sometimes, too; my data on this are contradictory. In any case, among adults two kinds of behavior are especially likely to evoke *tuhuu* accusations. If a person asks too often to trade or to be given small gifts, others outside his family will gossip that the demanding person feels *tuhuu*. Or if a person derogates the possessions of another, the same accusation may be made. Actually, it rarely happens that a person makes derogatory remarks except when gossiping within the shelter of the *ilammarigiit*, who will *not* accuse him of feeling *tuhuu* toward the person he gossips about.

Tuhuu feelings are a major source of tension among the Utkuhikhalingmiut; or at least the tensions that exist are very often expressed as accusations of *tuhuu* feelings. As I have said, to feel *tuhuu* – envious, jealous, and greedy – is considered very bad indeed, and

¹This pattern of denial is explicitly taught to children. See the section on Humor, below.

people are at pains to deny that they do have such feelings. Nevertheless, I judge that *tuhuu* feelings are quite widespread. Sermons denouncing them in general terms are frequent, and more specific accusations are rife in gossip. Jokes on the subject are also very common. One kind of “joke” consisted of a “game” people played, usually with small children or with the anthropologist, in which they pretended to steal food or other goods from the watching owner. And “I’m envious – no joke!” (*tuhuu – takhaa*¹) was a standard response when a visitor or family member reported a pleasant event, a new acquisition, or a good meal. Such preoccupation with the subject of *tuhuu* feelings certainly is evidence for their prevalence, it seems to me. So is the fact that people occasionally accuse others not of *feeling tuhuu* but of wanting to *be tuhuu*’d, that is, envied. I interpret this to mean either that the accuser feels *tuhuu* and is projecting his feelings onto the other person, or that people want to be *tuhuu*’d and, again, are projecting their feelings onto the other.

Humor

Humor in any culture probably serves a variety of uses,² and the Utkuhikhalingmiut culture is no exception. In fact, in certain respects humor may be a more important expressive device for them than it is for us, a point on which I shall elaborate below. I have chosen to discuss humor at this point in my exposition because of its importance in the expression of the hostile feelings we have just been considering.

The most common of the Utkuhikhalingmiut terms that refer to humor is *tiphi*. It can be glossed as “to provoke laughter” (in the form *tiphinaq*) or “to feel like laughing” (in the form *tiphihuk* –). These are the verbal definitions I was given.³ The behaviors that are conducive to laughter are very diverse; indeed, at first I had the impression that people laughed all the time at everything. Easy laughter is a trait that has been noted by most other observers of Eskimos too, and it is one that I think has been subject to a good deal of misinterpretation, or at least oversimplification, on the part of kabloonas. In the following pages I shall roughly categorize the commonest circumstances in which people tend to laugh, but I must emphasize that these categories are my own; I do not always know whether I have classed a bit of behavior according to the aspects that are salient to the Utkuhikhalingmiut themselves. The categories shade into one another, and any one humorous event may fall into more than one category.

1. When behavior, either one’s own or other people’s, is unexpected, unusual, or incongruous – though not necessarily either socially inappropriate or morally disapproved – people refer to it as *tiphi* and laugh. A woman sitting ding-toed; the anthropologist’s writing every day (and even before she was out of bed in the morning); the fact that a woman is shorter than her adolescent adopted daughter; the sound of foreign Eskimo dialects – not to mention foreign languages; unusual tones of voice, facial expressions, and physical antics – all are cause for laughter. One woman laughed when she heard some of her father’s genealogy for the first time – “because she’d never heard it before,” I was told.

¹See the section on Humor for a discussion of the expression *takhaa*! (I’m joking!).

²There is a very sizeable body of literature on the nature and functions of humor in western society. Two classic contributions to the subject are those of Freud (1922) and Bergson (1911), but many other philosophers, beginning with Plato and Aristotle, have also dealt with the subject. Recently sociologists and social psychologists have discussed the social functions of humor – its use in maintaining and restructuring social situations (e.g., Coser 1959, 1960; Duncan 1962; Olesen and Whittaker 1966; Pitchford 1961; Victoroff 1953). A good summary of some of the major theories of laughter is found in Monro (1951). In most respects the classification of Utkuhikhalingmiut humor that I give here and the functions that I suggest it serves are similar to those outlined by Monro (1951:34, 40) and by the sociological authors cited.

³There is another term also – *pikki* – which I was given as a synonym for *tiphi*. *Pikki*, however, occurs far more rarely in ordinary speech. As a result, I have almost no data on it, and will therefore limit my discussion to the term *tiphi*.

2. People also laugh at behavior that is socially inappropriate or morally disapproved. I am not sure that *all* such behavior is seen as *tiphi*, but much of it is. Excessive expression of emotion is a form of inappropriate behavior that is often laughed at, whether the emotion concerned is grief, amusement, or ill temper of a “childish” (*nutaraqpaluktuq*) sort. Thus when a fourteen year old boy cried (hardly perceptibly) as he said goodbye to his grandfather who was being taken to the hospital; when a person giggled excessively or was “clogged” (*qiquq*); when a three-year-old hit her mother with a spoon; or when a six-year-old shrieked in anger – people laughed. And excessive emotionality is not the only form of inappropriate behavior that is considered amusing. People laughed at the fear of famine (exaggerated, in their view) that made one man cache all of the fish he caught during the summer instead of eating some of it as others did theirs. And they laughed when a girl defecated near the waterhole – though at the same time they called it “disgusting”.¹

3. People very often express amusement at errors, stupidities, misfortunes, and minor pains, both their own and those of others. When I picked up the wrong pot lid by mistake, mispronounced a word, or accidentally cut the back instead of the belly out of a fish I was gutting; when one day a woman, having set out to check the nets, turned around in midstream and went trapping, because her “feet were too cold to check the nets”; when another woman tripped on a hummock with her three year old daughter on her back and sent herself and the child flying into a puddle of muddy water; when one of the children accidentally knocked her tooth out while playing in a ball game; when a puppy fell off a sled unnoticed during a long move and the driver had to turn back after several arduous miles to find him; and when a woman unwittingly rubbed caustic insect repellent over her raw mosquito bites, both the victim and their audiences laughed and called the incidents *tiphi*. Indeed, the incidents became comical anecdotes, which were retold again and again for several days, and sometimes longer.

4. Similarly, when the actions of other people interfere with one, it is – or should be – considered *tiphi*, not *hujuujaq* (unpleasant) or *urulu* (annoying). This opposition of emotions was explicitly phrased by two Eskimos, one an Utkuhikhalingmiutaq, the other a Baffin Islander.² To take the second case first, my friend from Baffin had been telling me a story about a kabloona who had prevented her husband from getting something he, apparently, had very much wanted. Since I thought I sensed indignation or irritation in my friend’s voice, I sympathized, saying that she must have felt very annoyed. “Oh no,” she corrected me, hastily, “it wasn’t annoying, it was funny.”³ The other incident is particularly interesting, because it illustrates how children are explicitly *taught* to substitute feelings of amusement for the feelings of annoyance that are so condemned. A six year old girl was annoyed at her younger sister for some reason. Her aunt, aged eighteen, asked her: “Is your little sister annoying (*urulu*)?” The child agreed that she was. “She’s not annoying (*urulu*),” said the aunt, mildly; “she’s funny (*tiphi*).”

5. Feelings of amusement (*tiphi*) can also be a reaction to fear (*kappia*, *iqhi*), or to being startled. In some instances it may be that the amusement serves to convert the unwelcome feeling of fear into a more acceptable one. We have discussed a similar mechanism with regard to annoyance. In the case of startle, the amusement is, at least sometimes, a reaction to the prior fear reaction. A person who is startled will jump, laugh, and later describe as funny (*tiphi*) the way he (she) jumped in fear. At other times, however,

¹The relationship between amusement (*tiphi*) and such other emotions as displeasure (*hujuujaq*), annoyance (*urulu*), fear (*kappia*, *iqhi*), and disgust (*quini*) is not yet clear to me. Sometimes they appear explicitly in opposition, but sometimes they appear together, in reference to the same unpleasant person or event. More systematic data are needed here, as elsewhere.

²See footnote 1 above, concerning the relationships between *tiphi*, *hujuujaq*, and *urulu*.

³This conversation was in English: hence, the Eskimo words are not available.

the two feelings of fear and amusement are described as coexisting. There was, for example, a party of kabloona fishermen who visited the rapids where the Utkuhikhalingmiut were camped one August, and whose behavior the Eskimos found frightening (*kappia, iqhi*) for various reasons. Once one of the fishermen who had had a little too much to drink went around to all the “pretty girls”, as he called them, offering them gifts of towels and soap. This incident was afterwards spoken of as both frightening (*iqhi*) and funny (*tiphi*). In this case the amusement seemed to be directed at the fisherman’s behavior itself, rather than at the Eskimos’ fear; and if conversion from the one feeling into the other was attempted, it didn’t quite succeed.

6. Finally, amusement (*tiphi*) can be a reaction to experiences defined as happy or pleasant (*quvia*): listening to enjoyable music; having plenty of food to eat; chasing lemming and ermine to stone them. In all these cases “happy” (*quvia*) and “amused” (*tiphi*) feelings are explicitly associated: “It is pleasant and amusing!” (*quvianaqtuq, tiphinaqtuq*), people say. “Happy, kind, and amusing” (*quvia, quja, and tiphi*) is an often-heard trilogy of praise for a person, too.

It would be hard to overstate the pervasiveness of *tiphi* reactions in the daily life of the Utkuhikhalingmiut. *Tiiiiiphinaq!* ” (funny) was one of the first words that the child I observed most closely was taught when she began to learn to talk, and the word punctuated the remarks of her elders, as well. Most of the anecdotes that interlard Utkuhikhalingmiut conversations seem to be told for their *tiphi* quality. Even when the events reported in the anecdotes — bad weather, bad luck in hunting, a runaway dog — are “unpleasant” (*hujuujaq*), “annoying” (*urulu*), or “tiring”, the raconteur often ends by saying, “*Tiiiiiphinaq!* ” — with the vowel drawn out for emphasis — and the response of the audience is laughter.

Though too great ebullience in the expression of *tiphi* feelings is discouraged as childish (*nutaraqpalluqtuq*), unpleasant to see (*hujuujaq*), and conducive to nightmares on the part of the volatile person, nevertheless most Utkuhikhalingmiut do laugh easily. Laughter and joking — *tiphi* feelings and behavior — are important to the Utkuhikhalingmiut in several ways, I think. First, they indicate that a person is happy (*quvia*) and, as we have seen, happiness is a moral good. “We Utkuhikhalingmiut joke a lot,” said one informant, a man of about forty. “People who joke a lot are not frightening” (*kappia, iqhi*). Secondly, *tiphi* feelings and expressions can be cathartic. The embodiment of misfortunes and fears in humorous anecdotes, to be told and retold to appreciative audiences, probably constitutes a cathartic use of amusement. Thirdly, *tiphi* reactions serve as a way of expressing, and simultaneously denying, hostility, and, I think, other unpleasant or unhappy feelings. We have seen this mechanism at work in the Utkuhikhalingmiut habit of viewing inappropriate (annoying or frightening) behavior as “funny”.

My impression — based on my own surprise at the situations in which Utkuhikhalingmiut laugh — is that Utkuhikhalingmiut tend to rely more heavily on laughter than we do in all three of these contexts: to relieve the strain that results from misfortune; to convey reassurance that a person is unthreatening, that is, not hostile; and to express subtly one’s own hostility.

Analysis of the situations in which people use the word *takhaungiituq* or, more briefly, *takhaa*, may provide clues to several of the functions of humor among the Utkuhikhalingmiut. *Takhaa* indicates that the speaker is joking, though I am not sure that in all cases the statements to which *takhaa* is attached are defined as *tiphi*. *Takhaa* follows any comment that might possibly be construed as critical, hostile, plaintive (*hujuujaq*), or jealous (*tuhuu*). “The girls aren’t rowing very hard — *takhaa*.” “As soon as (so-and-so) goes home we’ll make tea — *takhaungiituq*.” “Terrible weather today — *hujuuuuuujaq — takhaa*.” “I wish

that fish you caught were *my* fish – *takhaa*.” The *takhaa* form is often used even when a speaker is gossiping, making hostile remarks behind someone’s back – possibly to whiten the sin of gossiping? I often made the mistake of omitting “*takhaa*” when I was joking with Utkuhikhalingmiut. I thought that my smile and laugh would be sufficient signs of my benevolent intent, but they were not. It occurred to me, then, that perhaps it was necessary to express reassurance so explicitly, because when almost every statement is made in the same even, cheerful voice, it is difficult to distinguish serious from joking remarks on the basis of tone of voice or facial expression.¹

To tell a person that he makes one feel *tiphi* is a compliment. But since amusement has so many meanings for the Utkuhikhalingmiut, it follows that a person who makes one feel *tiphi* is not always a good or likeable person. In the latter case, one does not *tell* the person he is *tiphi*; one says it behind his back. Ideally, none of the hostile expressions of *tiphi* ever come to the notice of their victims. Children may be laughed at as a form of discipline, but adults are never laughed at directly, except in good spirits.²

Considering the disciplinary use of humor in dealing with children, and the sensitivity to criticism, which seems to be expressed in the reassuring use of *takhaa*, one wonders to what extent people are sensitive to being laughed at, even in good spirits. Perhaps they are not sensitive. Being the butt of a joke may make a person feel as though he “belongs” and is accepted by the group; it had that effect on me, very often, when I was openly laughed at, especially after a difficult period when I was excluded from the circle of laughter. The cathartic effect of laughter, too, may obtain even when one is, oneself, the object of amusement, especially if one laughs at oneself first, as Utkuhikhalingmiut often do. Then one can persuade oneself that others are sharing one’s own amusement, rather than laughing at one’s downfall and humiliation. Nevertheless, it seemed to me that children and even adolescents had to *learn* to appreciate humor that was directed at them. Small children, aged four to seven or thereabouts, were likely to shriek if teased, and older children would listen with an expressionless face, then leave the scene precipitately, followed by the giggles of their elders. One adult, a man of about forty, who took himself very seriously, still showed some of this lack of appreciation when laughed at. If he had initiated the joke deliberately, he loved being laughed at, but not otherwise. When his dogs ran away with his sled and dragged him along on the ground behind in sitting position he was not amused, nor was he amused when I laughed at the odd appearance of his newly-cut hair, though on the occasion of an earlier haircut he himself had observed jokingly that his hair looked like birch shrubbery. Other adults, however, appeared to share fully – if sometimes a trifle sheepishly at first – in humor that was directed at them.

Fear

The kinds of things that Utkuhikhalingmiut fear, and their manner of expressing fear is quite in keeping with the patterns we have seen emerging in the discussions of other emotional concepts. I recorded three terms for fear, as follows:

kappia: to fear or to rouse the fear of physical injury.

¹*Takhaa* also occurs with statements that refer to the future – “I’m going fishing tomorrow”; “soon the ice will come” – and I think here the intent is to protect oneself from being shown a fool when events do not turn out as anticipated. Utkuhikhalingmiut, like the North Alaskan Eskimos of my acquaintance, tend to be reluctant to predict the course of events. Children are laughed at when they ask questions about future events or make statements about the future that are too flat and unqualified. English-speaking Eskimos often express this respect for unknown contingencies by the very frequent use of “maybe”. This attitude is further discussed in the section on Reason and in the Conclusion of the report.

² Eskimo groups in Alaska and Greenland (see, e.g., Birket-Smith 1953 and Holm 1914) as well as in the Central regions (Rasmussen 1929, 1931, 1932) used to settle disputes and punish social offenders by a form of public ridicule in which caustic lampoons were sung in the presence of the offender. Such ridicule often took the form of “song duels” in which the object was to outdo one’s opponent in mocking verse while the community applauded. The man who received the most applause won the dispute; his opponent’s reputation was destroyed. The Utkuhikhalingmiut, whose culture is in many ways very close to that of the Netsilingmiut seem to have had a similar practice in the past. One of the song duels recorded by Rasmussen is between an Utkuhikhalingmiut and a Netsilingmiut (1931: 345-9 and 515-16).

iqhi: the same as *kappia*.

ilira: to fear or rouse the fear of being unkindly treated.

As is apparent from the glosses I have given them, the first two of these, *kappia* and *iqhi*, appear in all the same contexts in my data; and the Utkuhikhalingmiut, in defining the terms for me, specified that they were “genuinely the same” (*atauhimmarik*), and that both alike applied to fear of dangerous animals, evil spirits (*tunngait*), natural hazards such as thin ice or a rough sea, angry (*urulu, ningaaq*) people, and an angry God. My informants said that the term *ilira*, on the other hand, refers only to fear of people, not to animals (except dogs, according to one informant), and not evil spirits, or other hazards. I was not given explicit information on the specific nature of these two kinds of fear: *kappia* and *iqhi* on the one hand and *ilira* on the other. The qualitative difference that I have incorporated in the glosses above (physical fear vs. fear of unkindness) was derived not from informants’ statements but from observation of the contexts in which the terms occurred. A comparison of situations in which it is human beings who are frightening is especially illuminating. For instance, when a man described a fight he had once watched between two kabloona workmen, he said it had made him *iqhi*, not *ilira*; and when the women talked about drunken kabloona sportsmen who made sexual advances to Utkuhikhalingmiut women, they said the men made them feel *iqhi, kappia*; they did not use the term *ilira*. The term *ilira*, on the other hand, is used in situations in which a person fears that his request will be refused, or that he will be scolded or criticized (*huaq*).¹

Ilira feelings appear to be very widespread among the Utkuhikhalingmiut. Everybody has such feelings, and quite often, judging from the frequency with which the term occurs in daily speech. Children are said to feel *ilira* toward their parents, that is, their “leaders” (*ataniq*). Whether wives are said to *ilira* their “leaders”, that is, their husbands, I do not know. Strangers, especially, both Eskimo and kabloona, are *ilira*’d by everyone, and people of uncertain temper are also *ilira*’d, I think, whether or not they are strangers. Thus, one man told me: “People who joke frequently are not frightening” (*iliranaittut*) – implying that people who do *not* appear happy *are* frightening.

I have the impression that references to the other kind of fear (*kappia, iqhi*) occur less frequently in everyday speech, whether because incidents provoking such fear occur less frequently, or because these fears are less readily acknowledged, I do not know. Children and other people of little sense (*ihuma*) are thought to frighten (*kappia, iqhi*) easily under circumstances that would not seem dangerous or frightening to a more sensible person. Children more than adults, for example, are said to fear harm from people (*kappia, iqhi*)—as distinct from feeling *ilira* toward them. I expect that the reverse might be true of *ilira* feelings: that is, they might be associated with the presence of *ihuma* and therefore might be thought more characteristic of adults than of children. But the relationship between *ilira* and *ihuma* is a still uninvestigated question.

Utkuhikhalingmiut recognize various kinds of behavior as expressive of *ilira* feelings. The following kinds of behavior are all noted on occasion as signs that a person feels *ilira*: silence and constraint; a loss of appetite (or at least an unwillingness to eat) in the presence of the *illira*’d person; a tendency to smile and agree, if the latter speaks, and a reluctance to disagree or to admit that one does not understand what the feared person says. If a person

¹In the main, the occurrence of these “fear” words in Rasmussen’s Netsilik texts (1931 *passim*) bears out the distinctions I have tentatively made here, but not entirely. Instances of *kappia* and *iqhi* (*Ersi-* in Rasmussen’s orthography) support my glosses, but the case of *ilira* (*ilEra*) is a little more complicated. Rasmussen defines the term as: “is afraid of him, takes heed of him” (1931: 455). And four out of five occurrences of the term in his texts refer to fear of people, which supports my data. The nature of the fear, however, is not clear. And in the fifth case (1931: 278-9) the fear is one of not knowing how to hunt in a strange country, and here Rasmussen glosses the term as “anxious and perplexed”.

who feels *ilira* has done something that he thinks will annoy the person he fears – if, for example, he has damaged or lost an object belonging to that person – he may not tell him, even though such secrecy is defined as “lying” and contravenes the strong Utkuhikhalingmiut value of honesty. On the other hand, when a person is very careful to ask permission before acting, such behavior is also sometimes explained as due to *ilira* feelings. In one family, for example, the children always asked their father before helping themselves to the scarce kabloona foods (though not to the commoner Eskimo foods) in the household larder, because they *ilira*’d him: they feared he might not want them to take the food. In this context, the *ilira* feeling was conducive to a socially approved obedience: “Because they feel *ilira* they want to obey.” The father was obviously pleased that his children behaved in this way, and for his part, he never failed to comply with the children’s request – behavior which is recognized as conducive to reassuring a person who feels *ilira*.

Feelings of *ilira* may make a person most reluctant to ask favors. The woman in whose household I lived said that her early *ilira* feelings about me had made her reluctant to use my primus without express permission, and reluctant also to ask for food from my supplies. And throughout my stay, whenever I hesitated to ask a favor of someone – for example, when I was reluctant to ask a man to bring back flour or oil for me from Gjoa Haven along with his own goods – I was always reassured in the same words: “Don’t be afraid (*ilira*) to ask; we are kind (*quja*); we won’t refuse.” It may be worth noting that the phrasing of this reassurance is exactly opposite to the phrasing a Euro-Canadian might use to a person who hesitates to ask a favor: “Don’t be afraid to ask; if it’s inconvenient, I’ll tell you.” Both the Eskimo and the Euro-Canadian are afraid that the person of whom the favor is requested will find the request an imposition, but the Eskimo is more afraid than the Euro-Canadian of a refusal *per se*, which he views – more consistently, I think, than the Euro-Canadian – as a form of “unkindness” (*qujanaittuq*).¹

Another way of reassuring others that one is not a person to be *ilira*’d is, as I have said, to smile, laugh, and joke a lot, that is, to convey the impression that one is a happy (*quvia*) person. The desire to communicate such reassurance is, I think, an important reason for the warm and obliging public face that the Utkuhikhalingmiut present.²

Since fear of physical injury (*kappia*, *iqhi*) was less frequently referred to in ordinary conversation, and since I did not make a point of discussing the expression of these feelings with Utkuhikhalingmiut, I have fewer data on the forms that such expression took. Children who feel *iqhi* or *kappia* sometimes cry and sometimes become silent and motionless or fall asleep. All these signs are recognized by adults. One of the few cases I observed personally in which I knew through their own admission that the Utkuhikhalingmiut adults involved had felt *iqhi* or *kappia* was the meeting between the Eskimo women and the drunken kabloona fishermen to which I referred above. In this case, the women were silent and stood apart, as they always did in the presence of strangers, whether the latter were perceived as people to be *ilira*’d or *iqhi*’d. Perhaps these two kinds of fear are mingled in Utkuhikhalingmiut perceptions of strangers. In any event, I would guess that *iqhi* behavior is quite similar to *ilira* behavior, that both kinds of fear are expressed in withdrawal, and if extreme enough, even in disappearance from the scene.

Anxiety

I recorded two other terms – *huqu* and *ujjiq* – that seem related to the English concept of “fear”, but my data on the ranges of meaning of these terms are more than

¹See the section on Kindness and Gratitude, above.

²See the section on Affection, pages 18-19, and the Conclusion, pages 50-51, concerning other aspects of this obligingness.

usually scanty. Though I discuss them both here under the rubric of “anxiety”, this classification is only a temporary expedient and, moreover, is only partly accurate. The second term, *ujjiq*, was recorded only once in spontaneous speech, and I neglected to ask Utkuhikhalingmiut informants about it afterwards. The other term, *huqu*, occurred more frequently in ordinary speech, but was exceptionally difficult to elicit by questioning, possibly because of some error in the phrasing, or unacceptability in the context, of my questions. I include the terms here nevertheless, because I think they may prove to be important concepts to watch for in future research.

Huqu has both a good and a bad sense. It was the latter that I had difficulty in eliciting. In both senses the term can be glossed broadly as “to respond” or “to pay attention”, but the acceptability of the “response” seems to depend on whether the person one responds to is oneself or someone else. In the latter case, to *huqu* is good. Thus, I was told: “If you ask me to pass you the sugar, and I hear and obey you, I *huqu* you.” And again: “If we pray to God to save us from famine and he sends us caribou, he *huqus* us.” Conversely: “If you ask for the sugar and I sit here and ignore you, I don’t *huqu* you,” and “if God sends us no caribou he doesn’t *huqu* us.” In this *good* sense, the responsiveness, the *huqu* behavior, results from the protective, nurturant (*nakli*) feelings that are so highly valued. For example, a mother once, reminiscing about how frightened her three year old daughter had been of me when I first arrived in Chantrey Inlet, said to me: “Did you mistakenly think I *nakli’d* her because of her fear? When she cries from fear (of people) I don’t *huqu* it, because there’s no real danger.” And a letter that I had from my Eskimo “mother” after I left Back River said: “I didn’t think I would *huqu* you when you left, but when you set out for Gjoa Haven I did *nakli* you”.

But the term also occurs in reference to unpleasant events in one’s own life, and in this context to *huqu*, to respond, is unacceptable. This sense of the term I have glossed as “to be upset”, and in this sense it occurs mainly in the negative forms, *huqutikssalaituq* and *huqutigilaitara* (not to be upset). The unacceptable meaning of the positive forms, *huqutikssaktuq* and *huqutigijaga* (to be upset) was, in fact, so difficult to elicit on questioning that I am not sure the words are really used in this sense, even though I thought I heard them so used, now and then, in spontaneous speech. A description of the first occasion on which I heard a positive form of the word will serve as an example of my difficulties, and also, I think, as an example of attitudes toward “being upset”. A man, K., talking to his wife about some chronic pains he suffered, and not realizing that I was listening, said: “I *huqu* them.” I asked him to repeat what he had said, so that I could learn the word, but while I was speaking, his father-in-law came in, and K. said firmly: “I don’t *huqu* them.” And when I tried to elicit the word in a more neutral context, independent of K. and his pains, he insisted that there was no such word as the one I thought I had heard him use.

On most occasions when I asked about the term *huqu*, I was given the beneficent meaning: “God hears us when we pray” or “I pass you the knife when you ask for it.” Just once when I was struggling to find some way to elicit the unacceptable meaning, my informant obliged me by giving me two of the “fear” terms (*ilira* and *iqhi*) as synonyms for *huqu*, and he said: “A person who *huqus* does not make one feel grateful (*hatuq*; i.e., he is unpleasant). Children *huqu* often because they have no reason (*ihuma*).” At the time, I suspected that he might be obliging me to the point of inventing the meaning that he knew I wanted to hear, since his wife demurred, saying, “That’s not a very correct word.” However, once later when I used the word in this undesirable sense in conversation with another woman, I was understood. We were waiting for the plane that was to take the school children away to Inuvik for the winter. I knew that one of the thirteen year old girls, who was going for the first time, had had a chronic stomach ache during the last week or so of waiting, so I asked the girl’s aunt whether her niece was upset (*huqu*) about going away

to school. "I don't think she is very upset (*huqu*)," said the aunt: "she minds (*huqus*) less than her cousin did when *she* went for the first time." And when I then asked the woman how people who were upset (*huqu*) could be recognized, she had no hesitation in telling me the symptom: lethargy. "People who *huqu* sleep longer hours than others, don't work, and don't play."

Clues to further ramifications of the *huqu* concept can be found, I think, in Rasmussen's Netsilik vocabulary and texts (1931: 461 and *passim*). In these texts one finds quite frequently a word base that is variously spelled: *soqu*, *soru*, and *soro*, and that is glossed, depending on the context as: mistreat (sometimes in the sense of "neglect"), torment, starve, faint away, lie sick, be worthless.¹ It seems to me probable that this is the same term that I have spelled *huqu*. This combination of glosses shows that there is a great deal more to be learned about the *huqu* concept. The association of neglect, mistreatment, and torment with starvation is particularly interesting in view of the converse association of feeding with affection (see the section on Affection, above).

The anxiety denoted by the term *ujjiq* is also associated with disturbances in nurturant situations — or was so on the occasion in which I heard the word. Among the Utkuhikhalingmiut, children are sometimes nursed right up until the birth of the next child, and this was the case in the family with which I lived. The night that a baby was born in the family, the three-year-old, S., who till then had been the "baby" woke to see, suddenly, a new baby being nursed instead of herself. Though her parents, I thought, handled the situation with extraordinary tact and tenderness, assuring S. repeatedly that she was still very much loved (*nakli*) and cared for, S. nevertheless had a shrieking tantrum, and then cried herself to sleep. Her father, looking at S.'s tear-stained face, remarked: "Ujjiq." And when I asked the meaning of the word, he gave as a synonym *tumak*(*tuq*), which can be glossed as depression associated with loneliness.² Later I asked a Baffin Island woman about the word, and she explained: "S. realized that she was not the only baby any more and she started to worry, 'What will become of me if they start to look after the baby alone? Maybe they won't have any more time to look after me, now.' *Ujjiqtuq* means something like that: to worry over something and wonder about it, having never thought about or realized it before." From this description I judge that, in this instance at least, the "worry" was a fear of no longer being nurtured (*nakli*'d). However, my informant was speaking English, so I cannot be sure that the term *nakli* would have been used in this context. Much more remains to be discovered, also, concerning other contexts in which the anxiety denoted by the term *ujjiq* may occur.

Shyness

To a Euro-Canadian observer, one of the most striking characteristics of Utkuhikhalingmiut — and, I think, of other Eskimos — is an absence of self-assertiveness. In contrast to many Euro-Canadians, most Utkuhikhalingmiut adults and children over the age of three or so seem to blend unobtrusively into the social background.³ This quietness may be partly due to a dislike of volatility and noise; children are told to go out when they play

¹Rasmussen himself lists three different words in his vocabulary (1931: 461): *soru* (*Erivaa* (starves him); *sororsErtEq* (tormentor); and *soquta ingnicuthuk* (something that is worth nothing). This might indicate that there are really three distinct word bases here, but a search through the texts where these words (and others built on these bases) occur shows that there is no consistent correspondence between the spelling of the base and the gloss assigned. Thus, "tormentor" may be spelled *soqu*- as well as *soro*- (e.g., pp. 418-19 vs. pp. 420 and 461), and references to "starvation" may be spelled *soro*- as well as *soru*- (both on p. 423, for example). It thus appears probable that there is really only one word base at issue. The differences in spelling are due to phonetic considerations.

²A brief discussion of the term *tumak* will be found in my Ph.D. thesis (1967: 491-2), but I have not included it in this report.

³This is not so true of children who have been exposed to kabloona schooling.

too noisily in the vicinity of adults; or they are warned that their exuberance may give them nightmares. It may be due partly to the sanctions on aggressiveness, and to the habit of withdrawal in the face of fear (*ilira*), which have been discussed above. But there is another factor involved too, a wish to avoid displaying or exposing oneself before others, which the Utkuhikhalingmiut call *kanngu*. When I asked what *kanngu* meant, I was told of several contexts in which the feeling may occur: one may wish to prevent others from seeing one's flesh, one's person, or one's accomplishments (or lack of accomplishments). The term occurred in all of these contexts in spontaneous speech as well. A child who stays quietly on the sleeping platform near its mother and refuses to run around conspicuously on the floor when there are many people present is said to feel *kanngu*. When a man refused to join the other men in acrobatic games during the Christmas festivities, he was said to feel *kanngu*. "He knows how to somersault," I was told; "he just doesn't want people to see him." When a fourteen year old boy refused to speak English with me, though he knew the words, people said it was because he felt *kanngu*. And when a woman took a dislike (*hujuujaq*) to the boot trim she was embroidering, she said: "I feel *kanngu* about it; I'm not going to work on it any more until there is no one around to see."

A middle-aged man one day surprised me by asking me — without any context that I could discover — how *kanngu* feelings are expressed in my country. I told him: people who feel *kanngu* are sometimes silent and refuse to talk, they blush, avoid others' eyes, and do not like to be seen. "It's the same here," he said.

Kanngu feelings are, I think, considered to be a natural product of the development of reason (*ihuma*), and the first signs of the feeling in children are noted with interest.¹ One day when a three-year-old was "wrestling" with me in fun, she slipped on the iglu floor and fell. Picking herself up, she ran into her grandfather's iglu, which opened into that of her parents, and then after a moment, she ran back again into her own iglu and resumed wrestling with one person and another, making "cute", self-conscious grimaces the while. Her mother watched her. "She's beginning to feel *kanngu*," she said. "If she hadn't felt *kanngu*, she would have stayed in her grandfather's iglu and visited, instead of coming back here and making faces. She wouldn't have minded falling."

I am not sure what people's attitudes toward *kanngu* feelings are. If my impression is correct that such feelings are considered a concomitant of *ihuma*, which is valued, this might indicate that they are favorably regarded, but whether the absence of *kanngu* feelings is unfavorably regarded, I do not know. The feelings may simply be considered natural, without moral connotations. The absence of *kanngu* is occasionally remarked on. When one of the kabloona fishermen showed an elderly Utkuhikhalingmiut man a magazine picture of a scantily-clad lady, the Eskimo said: "She doesn't feel very *kanngu*." But I could not tell whether the remark was critical or neutral.

Loneliness

In the discussion of hostility above, mention was made of a term, *hujuujaq*, which occurs in a variety of hostile contexts, but whose "central" meaning — that is, the meaning one is given when one asks for a definition of the term — is loneliness. Utkuhikhalingmiut say that *hujuujaq* is the way one feels in the absence of people whose company one desires. One feels *hujuujaq* when someone one loves (*nakli*, *unga*) leaves, or when one is left behind or is all alone.

¹For suggestions concerning the means by which children learn to feel *kanngu*, see Chapter III of my Ph.D. thesis (1967).

In spontaneous usage, however, the term *hujuujaq* has a range of meaning much broader than the English "loneliness", so that it is difficult to find an appropriate gloss. Perhaps an inclusive term like "unhappiness", "depression", or "distress" would do; or perhaps, given the incompleteness of my present data, it would be better not to assign an Eskimo gloss corresponding to a single English concept, but simply to classify the contexts in which the term occurs in spontaneous speech and draw no firm conclusions regarding the nature of the emotional common denominator. Even such a classification – which I present here – must be provisional, however, as was my classification of the functions of humor, above. Like the latter, this classification is based on the understanding of the ethnographer, an outsider, rather than on the understanding of the Utkuhikhalingmiut themselves, and the two views may not coincide. That is, if an Utkuhikhalingmiutaq were asked to state exactly what it is that makes him feel *hujuujaq* in the situations in which he uses that term, I do not know whether he would select the same defining characteristics that I have selected.

1. First and most important of the contexts in which the term *hujuujaq* appears is, of course, the one described above: the absence of loved people. The salience of loneliness as an experience not only for Utkuhikhalingmiut but for other Eskimos will be discussed further below.

2. Shifting to the hostile contexts, the term occurs as a rejecting comment on disapproved behavior or on people who engage in such behavior, for example, lying, stealing, getting angry, engaging in unChristian sexual activity.

3. It occurs also as a rejecting comment on the physical appearance, behavior (however intrinsically neutral), or mere presence of people one dislikes. Thus in our camp *hujuujaq* comments tended to focus on one woman, who was considered unpleasantly volatile. It seemed to make no difference whether she laughed and smiled, or was silent and still, whether she visited or sat at home, people said her behavior made them *hujuujaq*. If she made flabby oatmeal, or let the lamp flare so that it sooted up the iglu it made people *hujuujaq*. Just having to pass the woman where she fished on the way to one's own fishing hole made one feel *hujuujaq*.

4. *Hujuujaq* feelings may also arise when a person feels himself inappropriately placed in a social situation, even though he may like and approve of the other people present. Thus, a single man alone in a group of women, or a woman alone among men will feel *hujuujaq*: "Not shy (*kanngu*) but *hujuujaq*," I was told.

5. Unpleasant physical conditions and tasks are also often described as conducive to *hujuujaq* feelings. Cold, wet, or windy weather; the approach of autumn darkness; the presence of mosquitoes; hunger; the recession of the water in the rapids after the exciting spring torrents, all make one *hujuujaq*. One man, watching the kabloonas skim around with their outboards, remarked that paddling a canoe made one *hujuujaq*; and his wife said the same of having to scrape the iglu floor when she was tired.

6. Being thwarted in one's intentions or one's wishes, or being unable to make a decision can also make one *hujuujaq*. When someone had bad luck in hunting; when a man told his wife to go home from fishing, which she enjoyed, to make bread; and when a small child, by refusing to get dressed, prevented her mother from going to check the fishnets: *hujuujaq*. The frustrating agent can be located within the person, too. A woman one day described as *hujuujaq* her uncertainty as to whether she wanted to sew or fish; and on another occasion she called a boot she was embroidering *hujuujaq*, before she discarded it in dissatisfaction with the design she was creating.

Hujuujaq feelings in all of the above contexts are frequently expressed,¹ but very often only in the form of matter-of-fact comment. People do not complain; they remark, often with a little laugh that seems to deny the seriousness of the condition: “One is made to feel *hujuujaq*!” (*hujuujaqnaqtuq*). In tone, and in the ease with which it is expressed, the exclamation, “*Hujuujaqnaqtuq!*” is similar to the exclamation, “*Urulunaq!*” which was discussed above, on page 26.

People say that when they feel *hujuujaq* they do not feel very much like laughing and joking, and they recognize *hujuujaq* feelings, like *huqu* feelings, in lethargy and droopiness. Once when I yawned in the presence of a visitor, the visitor joked that I must be feeling *hujuujaq* (as I was). And once a sagging pole that was supposed to be supporting the dome of our thawing iglu was jokingly called both “*hujuujaq*” and “sleepy”. Children are more likely than adults to express *hujuujaq* feelings in visible lethargy, and I think therefore that such unsocial behavior is less acceptable than mere neutral comment. But lethargy may sometimes be felt by adults, too, even though it was not perceptible to me. I judge this because adults occasionally say they are not hungry when they are alone and feeling *hujuujaq* – when travelling by themselves, for instance – and because one cure for *hujuujaq* feelings is activity. One woman told me that children, when they feel *hujuujaq*, are sent outdoors to play, and that adults usually occupy themselves with work. Once, jokingly perhaps, she referred to her sewing as her “activity for making me stop feeling *hujuujaq*.” Sometimes, too, an adult counters *hujuujaq* feelings by indulging himself with a special food: making bannock or putting milk in his tea during a season when it is scarce and therefore usually reserved for children. But the commonest cure that I observed for *hujuujaq* feelings was to seek out company. Children, too, are sent out to visit even more than to play when they feel *hujuujaq*. Occasionally, a man moves camp in order to be with a person he misses, and once in a while, too, when real company is not available, people build cairns that “look like people” to keep them company.

Both my own experience in Alaska and the reports of anthropologists working with other Eskimo groups² indicate that loneliness (I am speaking for the moment of the English concept, not of the *hujuujaq* concept which includes loneliness) is a salient experience for Eskimos generally. Both North Alaskan and Aklavik Eskimos talk frequently about loneliness. They are solicitous to prevent others from feeling lonely, and often give their own or others’ loneliness as a reason for going visiting. In general, the frequency and openness with which loneliness is mentioned by English-speaking Eskimos contrasts strikingly with the absence of reference to other emotions in everyday speech. It is clear from what has been said that the salience of *hujuujaq* feelings among the Utkuhikhalingmiut and the ways in which they are expressed are similar to the Eskimo pattern observed elsewhere. Utkuhikhalingmiut, like other Eskimos, are often solicitous to prevent or to counter *hujuujaq* feelings in a person who is temporarily left alone. Thus, a woman whose menfolk are away on a trip will tend to have many more visitors than usual, because “she must be lonely” (*hujuujaq*). I observed occasions, however, when a person’s expression of *hujuujaq* feelings aroused covert amusement (*tiphi*), rather than solicitude, and I think this may have been because the *hujuujaq* feeling was over-expressed in these cases, usually in lethargy.

¹It is interesting – and somewhat curious, considering the frequency with which *hujuujaq* feelings are expressed in everyday conversation – that the word does not occur even once in Rasmussen’s Netsilik texts (1931 *passim*), unless it has escaped me due to his orthography.

²e.g., Derek Smith, conversation re: Aklavik, 1965; Norman Chance (1966: 78-9); and my own field experience in North Alaska, 1961 and 1962.

Compared with Euro-Canadians, and perhaps with some other Eskimo groups too¹, Utkuhikhalingmiut express unhappiness of all sorts² with great restraint. Indeed, they play down even the expression of grief at death so that it is hardly noticeable to a kabloona. Sorrow shows only in a facial tension, a slightly strained quality in the smile, a physical stillness. A person who is grieving may withdraw his face and arms into his roomy parka, so that his face becomes invisible and his arms are wrapped around his body – a gesture that is also a characteristic expression of cold and fatigue. One fourteen year old boy whom I observed on the occasion of his grandmother's death, shed one tear in the concealing shelter of his parka hood; it slid down his nose and he wiped it quickly and silently away, then immediately looked up and smiled with his usual brightness. The old lady's husband showed no overt grief either, but he changed overnight from a vigorous elder to a frail old man, and four days after his wife died, he died too. Given such restraint in the face of life crises, it is not surprising that expression of the more everyday, commonplace distresses is extremely moderate, and that deviation from such moderation is disapproved.

I am not sure that *hujuujaq* feelings are all of a piece – that lethargy, for example, results from the *hujuujaq* aroused by a person's lying or stealing, as it does from the *hujuujaq* aroused by the absence of a loved person. As I have mentioned, I see two dimensions in the concept: hostility or rejection, on the one hand, and loneliness (possibly a feeling of being rejected?), on the other; and I think that lethargy and its cures – working, eating, visiting – are associated primarily with the feeling of loneliness. I suggest also that the latter meaning of the word may explain why the hostile feelings that are labelled *hujuujaq* are more readily acknowledged than are those that are labelled *ningaaq*, *qiquq*, and *uruu*. Since *hujuujaq* feelings, when they refer to loneliness, are pro-, rather than anti-social, and are curable by pro-social actions, one need not be reluctant to express these feelings; and this socially acceptable sense of the word may mask its more hostile meanings. It is possible, however, that these “two dimensions” that I see do not exist for the Utkuhikhalingmiut.

Reason

Reason (*ihuma*), like nurturance (*nakli*), holds a central place in the Utkuhikhalingmiut system of values. The concept is central in two senses. First, it is invoked to explain a great variety of behaviors, and secondly it is an important measure of the quality of a person. As nurturance (*nakli*) defines the *goodness* of a human being, so reason (*ihuma*) defines *adulthood*. The sense in which this is so will, I hope, become clear below.

There are three terms to be discussed in this section on Reason:

ihuma, which refers to all functions that we think of as cerebral: mind, thought, memory, reason, sense, ideas;

nutaraqpaluktuq: literally “resembles a child” – a derogatory epithet applied to persons who evince a lack of *ihuma*; and

ajuq: to be difficult, unable, or impossible. In the form *ajuqnaq* this term means approximately “it cannot be helped” and is the classic expression of Eskimo “fatalism”, a concept that I shall discuss further below.

¹Cf. Honigsmann 1959: 110; Gubser 1965: 218; Jenness 1922: 33, 177.

²In this paragraph I am speaking of the English concept of unhappiness. I am not certain that all kinds of unhappiness and grief are labelled *hujuujaq* by the Utkuhikhalingmiut, though I think it likely that they are.

(a) Mental Functions (*ihuma*).

Ihuma, as the gloss indicates, is a broad term referring to abilities that we consider “mental” or “intellectual”. I do not know exactly how the Utkuhikhalingmiut conceptualize *ihuma* – whether they think of it as a physical entity, locate it in the head, or associate it with the brain, as we do – but their views of the *functions* of this “mental” force are in many ways very similar to our views. It is the possession of *ihuma* that makes it possible for a person to respond to his surroundings, physical and social, and to conform to social expectations. *Ihuma* is, or should be, a governing force in an adult’s life. Children are thought to be born without *ihuma*, and accordingly, as I have said, adults who show little evidence of possessing *ihuma* are spoken of as “childish” (*nutaraqpaluktuq*). The Utkuhikhalingmiut believe that normally, children acquire *ihuma* gradually and, I think, autonomously – that is, without adult intervention – as they grow. Child training consists very largely in providing the child with experience in the form of verbal instructions and models to imitate, which, as his *ihuma* grows, the child will remember, reflect on, and use. In the absence of *ihuma* no instruction is possible, and this is a major reason why parents do not discipline small children. Why brother? They will not remember.¹

The growth of *ihuma* can be recognized in a variety of behaviors. When a child becomes conscious or aware (*qauji*), when he begins to recognize people and to remember, to understand speech and to talk, people remark that he is beginning to acquire *ihuma*. Later signs that *ihuma* is developing are the beginnings of self-consciousness (*kanngu*), the first spontaneous attempts to help with household tasks, the acquisition of skills, obedience to the directions of one’s elders, voluntary conformity to religious proscriptions, such as not fishing or working on Sunday, and above all, the growth of emotional restraint. A person who has (or uses) *ihuma* is cheerful, but not giddy. He is patient in the face of difficulties and accepts unpleasant but uncontrollable events with calmness; and he does not sulk (*qiquq*), scold (*huaq*), get annoyed (*urulu*), or attack others physically (*ningaaq*). A person who lacks *ihuma*, on the other hand, whether adult or child, will be immoderately happy (*quvia*) and playful, and will laugh too easily. He will be easily upset (*huqu*) and frightened (*kappia*, *iqhi*), unable to distinguish between real physical danger and imaginary danger; and he will be easily angered or annoyed. He will cry, scold, and hit on slight provocation, but on the other hand, he will also forget his distresses quickly. His perception of his environment and his judgments concerning the future will be confused and unrealistic. When a child cries for a favorite food and fails to stop crying when told the food is gone, that is because he lacks *ihuma*. If a person grossly misjudges the length of a familiar trip, repeatedly sees imaginary caribou in the distance or hears non-existent airplanes, as one rather simple-minded woman did, such errors are attributed to lack of *ihuma*. A baby’s wish to be the center of affectionate attention is also attributed to a lack of *ihuma*, and I think that an adult who showed a similar wish would be defined as lacking *ihuma*, but this supposition needs to be checked.

(b) Childishness (*nutaraqpaluktuq*).

Most if not all of the kinds of behavior attributed to lack of *ihuma* are labelled “childish” (*nutaraqpaluktuq*), since in the Utkuhikhalingmiut view, as we have seen, child nature is characterized by a lack of *ihuma*. Thus, for example, impulsiveness and excessive display of feeling often draw the epithet “childish”. If a person is too ebullient, smiling too broadly, laughing too easily; if he gets “clogged up” (*qiquq*), or scolds (*huaq*), he is said to be “childish”. When the simple-minded woman moved with the quick, jerky motions that were characteristic of her, or when once a man shot at a bird that had already flown as he aimed, people whispered “*Nutaraqpaluktuq*” (he/she is childish).

¹The beliefs of the North Alaskan Nunamiut concerning the nature and functions of *ihuma* (*ishuma*) are parallel in many respects to those of the Utkuhikhalingmiut (Gubser 1965: 211-12; 221-22).

Other kinds of devalued behavior are also defined as childish, and it is worth noting that in at least one such case the Utkuhikhalingmiut point of view is the exact opposite of the kabloona viewpoint. Kabloonas tend to consider Eskimos "childish" because the latter do not plan for the future with the elaborate caution characteristic of kabloonas. The Utkuhikhalingmiut, on the other hand, labelled as childish the one man among them who was more provident than the others. All Utkuhikhalingmiut families took care to cache most of the fish they netted in the months of August, September, and October for use during the lean spring season when fish were scarce, but they usually retained two or three good fish to boil for the evening meal on the day they were caught. This one man, however, was so cautious that he cached *all* the fish he caught and never kept any to contribute to the communal cooking pot. This behavior naturally aroused some resentment among the other families who did contribute to the pot, and they whispered that the defector was childishly fearful (*kappia*) of what the future might bring in the way of food shortage.

It is evident from the above that "childishness" (*nutaraqpaluktuq*) and "simple-mindedness" (*ihumaqittuq*) are in general considered unattractive traits. In a very small child, to be sure, the absence of *ihuma* arouses protective (*nakli*) feelings in older people. As we have seen, parents explain their reassurance and indulgence of a small child in terms of the latter's lack of *ihuma*, his inability to understand reality. But such tolerance lessens as the child grows older. After he has given evidence of possessing *ihuma*, he is expected to use (*atuq*) it, and if he does not, his parents may shame him by inquiring why he does not, or by remarking that it seems as though he *has* no *ihuma*.¹

Adults who behave "childishly" or in a manner that shows lack of sense (*ihuma*) are also condemned, as we have seen, in gossip sessions. In this connection, however, it seems necessary to distinguish among various kinds of behavior that are all defined as evidence of "little sense" (*ihuma*); all behaviors are not condemned with equal vehemence. I once questioned an Utkuhikhalingmiut woman about attitudes toward people who were mentally defective. She had mentioned two such people in addition to the simple-minded woman, N., who lived in our camp. One was N.'s brother, who was not living in Chantrey Inlet when I was there, and the other was a deceased aunt of my informant. Since I know that N.'s lack of sense (*ihumaqittuq*) was considered unpleasant (*hujuujaq*). I asked my informant whether these other individuals had also made people feel *hujuujaq*. "No", she said; "they were pleasant (made one feel *quvia*); it's only when people clog up (*qiquq*) or get annoyed (*urulu*) easily that they make one feel *hujuujaq*." Since the individuals under discussion had all either died or moved away, I was unable to compare my informant's statement with actual behavior, but it appears that in theory, at least, volatility is more to be condemned than lack of skill (*ajuq*). Attitudes toward the latter will be discussed further below.

(c) Other Undesirable States of *Ihuma* (*ihumaqaguiqtuq* and *ihumaquqtuuq*).

In addition to simple-mindedness (*ihumaqittuq*-literally: "insufficiency of *ihuma*") there are in the Utkuhikhalingmiut view two other undesirable states which are related to the concept of *ihuma*. One of these is the complete disappearance of *ihuma* (*ihumaqaguiqtuq*); the other, a superabundance of *ihuma* (*ihumaquqtuuq*).

In the category of people in whom *ihuma* has "disappeared", we find sick people who are unconscious or delirious, unaware of their surroundings, and insane people during psychotic episodes. Such loss of consciousness is thought to be caused by the intervention or intrusion of evil spirits and is, naturally, feared (*kappia*, *iqhi*).

¹Other disciplinary methods are described in Chapter III of my Ph.D. thesis (1967).

Having “too much *ihuma*” (*ihumaquqtuuq*) also has unpleasant, and sometimes dangerous, implications, as Utkuhikhalingmiut explained to me. Although it is obvious that one must have *ihuma* in order to be considered a fully competent member of society – the word *ihumataaq*, “thinker”, denotes a leader in a community – nevertheless moderation is essential in this as in other matters; too much *ihuma* is as bad as too little. A person who has too much *ihuma* concentrates too much on one idea, one thought. In its most harmless form such concentration is viewed as “inconsiderate”.¹ More than one anthropologist who has worked with Eskimos – very possibly including myself – has been characterized by his hosts as *ihumaquqtuuq*, because he put such pressure on them with his continual visits, questions, more visits, and more questions, when the Eskimos would have preferred to work, talk, eat, or sleep, unbothered by the anthropologist. In one case, the anthropologist was ultimately defined as “a little crazy”, because he was too consistently interested in a single subject, but unfortunately, since my informant spoke in English, I do not know what Eskimo term was applied to the man.

The more frightening (*kappia*, *iqhi*) implications of having “too much *ihuma*” have to do with the nature of such a person’s anger. When a person who has “too much *ihuma*” gets angry (*ningaaq*, *urulu*) he gets *very* angry, and he stays angry. He does not recover easily, as does a person with “little *ihuma*”; he broods, and the angry thoughts can make the person who is brooded about fall ill or die. For this reason, people say they are careful not to arouse resentment in a person who has “too much *ihuma*”. Old people, in particular, are thought to be *ihumaquqtuuq*, so when an old person is ill or housebound, people will take care to visit him and be kind to him, so that he will not begin to “think” (*ihumagi-*). It is quite possible that in some cases physical violence, as distinct from murderous brooding, may also be feared from a person who is *ihumaquqtuuq*, but I have no evidence of this.

An interesting question for future research concerns the nature of attitudes toward the various states of anger or violence that are attributed to different conditions of *ihuma*. I have the impression that attitudes vary in some respects, depending on whether the anger or the violence is attributed to too little *ihuma*, to its disappearance, or to too much of it.² There was one woman among the Utkuhikhalingmiut who was insane, and on occasion murderous, according to report. She was in a mental hospital in southern Canada during the time I was at Back River, so that it is difficult accurately to compare reactions to her rages with reactions to common anger, but the tenor of remarks about her was quite different from the criticisms that were directed toward people who were characterized by ordinary bad temper. During her psychotic periods the insane woman was very much feared (*kappia*, *iqhi*). During her normal periods, however, it sounded as though she were as well regarded as anyone else; for example, there were two men who were eager to marry her, should she return to Back River. Ordinary bad-tempered people, on the other hand, may or may not be feared – depending, I suspect, on whether their bad temper is attributed to too much (*ihumaquqtuuq*) or to too little (*ihumaqittuq*) reason. But in either case they are consistently disliked (arouse *hujuujaq* feelings). However, I do not know whether I would find these distinctions maintained in behavior if I had an opportunity to observe the insane woman in the same camp with people guilty of ordinary bad temper.

To sum up the discussion of *ihuma* so far: As I understand it, the Utkuhikhalingmiut (and, I think, other Eskimos) consider intellectual faculties (*ihuma*) to be the *sine qua non* of socialization and of adult competence.³ To its presence and use *in moderation* they

¹This statement and those that follow in this paragraph were made not by an Utkuhikhalingmiutaq but by a Netsilik informant, in English.

²See also the section on Hostility, above.

³See, for example, Gubser (1965: 211). And it is also significant, I think, that Damas (1963: 54) says his Iglulirmiut informants who disapproved of marriage between foster siblings applied the label “simple-minded” (*ihumaqittuq*) to people who practiced this form of marriage.

attribute much if not all social behavior: the acquisition of practical skills and experience, the learning of values and precepts, and appropriate patterns of social and emotional responsiveness. And conversely, most inappropriate behavior is thought to be due either to an absence of *ihuma* or to too much *ihuma*. This view bears a marked resemblance to our own, though in the emphasis on moderation and the concepts of "too much *ihuma*", one does find some difference between the Eskimo and kabloona points of view. Both cultures believe that "brooding" and "worrying" are harmful,¹ but we tend to consider the *physical* effects of unhappy thoughts limited to the thinker himself, in the form of psychosomatic symptoms, whereas the Eskimos believe that such thoughts can do physical harm to the person brooded about as well as to the brooder himself.

(d) *Ihuma* as a Control Mechanism

I have said that *ihuma* is, or should be, a governing force in an adult's life, and it might be useful to expand this point a little here. A number of the methods used to control inappropriate emotional behavior depend on the use of *ihuma* in one or both of two ways. First, the person responding to an offense may appeal to the offender's *ihuma*, in an attempt to get him to reform; and secondly, he will probably rely on his own *ihuma* to help him control his irritation at the offensive behavior. The following analysis is based in part on the remarks of Utkuhikhalingmiut concerning *ihuma* and in part on extrapolations I have made from those remarks, concerning the way *ihuma* operates. It may serve as a starting point for future research.

Among the modes of response that are consciously intended to appeal to the offender's *ihuma* are, I think, the following: direct and indirect criticism; praise; and the substitution of morally superior behavior. The last-mentioned response has been discussed in the section on Affection (pages 18-19). Direct criticism is used primarily with children, almost never with adults. It is addressed to the offender and may take one of four forms: joking; scolding (*huaq*) or "mooing", which was mentioned in the section on scolding, above (page 24); "matter-of-fact" or neutral-sounding comments; and moral teaching, usually with a religious cast. Indirect criticism differs from direct in that the critical remarks are made in the presence, or within the hearing, of the offender concerned, but are not addressed to that person. The offender and the nature of his offense may be named in the conversation if the offender is a child; if he is an adult he will be left to draw his own inferences from the tenor of the remarks or the sermon. Praise, like the more direct forms of criticism, is a control method that seems to be used primarily in dealing with children, as far as my present data show, though I am not at all sure that data to be gathered in future will substantiate this generalization, since in other contexts the good or skillful behavior of adults is occasionally praised. Praise generally takes the form of a neutral-sounding remark – often in the third person – which indicates to the ex-offender that the improvement in his behavior has been observed. Both scolding and praise are at times explicitly phrased as appeals to *ihuma*: "It seems as though you have no *ihuma*"; "the child is using his *ihuma* now."

Responses to inappropriate behavior which show that the person responding is using his own *ihuma* to control his unpleasant reactions are: laughter, including amused gossip and imitation of the unwelcome behavior behind the back of the offender; matter-of-fact, that is, neutral-sounding, statements to the effect that the unpleasant situation "can't be helped" (*ajuqnaq*); and practical repair of the difficulty. The latter response consists in preventing misbehavior or repairing its effects without saying anything to the offender. To support the connection between *ihuma* and laughter, I draw on the fact, which we have seen, that the

¹Here, too, there seem to be parallels between Utkuhikhalingmiut belief and the beliefs of other Eskimos. Gubser (1965: 212 and 220), writing of modern Alaskan Eskimos, and Rasmussen (1908), writing of West and North Greenlanders at the turn of the century, both quote Eskimo statements concerning the evils of "thinking too much".

conversion of annoyance into amusement is explicitly taught to children. In relating the other responses to *ihuma* I extrapolate from the knowledge that not getting upset, but rather adapting oneself to the situation as one finds it, is a sign that one is using one's *ihuma*. This attitude will be discussed further, below (pages 46-47). It is possible that ignoring an unpleasant situation is also a reaction that shows use of *ihuma*, since this response, too, is characterized by calmness and restraint. I predict that future research will show that all socially approved modes of response to inappropriate behavior are based, in the Utkuhikhalingmiut view, on the use of *ihuma*.¹

(e) Independence²

Of the behavior patterns and attitudes that the Utkuhikhalingmiut attribute to the presence of *ihuma*, we have so far given more attention to emotional control, an emphasis justified by the Utkuhikhalingmiuts' own concern with problems of control. There are also other patterns, however, which are characteristic of a person with *ihuma*, for example, independence, pragmatism, and fatalism, and these, too, are worthy of mention, as they are often-noticed "Eskimo" traits.

To start with independence — I use the word here in several senses. One of these is self-sufficiency. I think a desire for independence in this sense is evident in what I have said above in the section on Affection concerning an adult's desire not to be pitied or taken care of (*nakli*'d), but I have recorded no explicit statements connecting this desire to be self-sufficient with the presence of *ihuma*.

Independence in the sense of personal autonomy is also valued, and this is clearly associated with *ihuma*. We have seen that the Utkuhikhalingmiut recognize no authority above that of the separate household heads. The latter are very careful of their prerogatives and do not expect to have their decisions questioned or interfered with. If a rude foreigner does inquire into the reasons behind a decision, the response is likely to be: "*Ihumamnik*" or "*Ihumagijaga*" (it is my mind or thought). And household heads are not the only Utkuhikhalingmiut who consider motivation an autonomous and private matter. All Utkuhikhalingmiut including children do so. Attempts to *persuade* a person, other than a very small child, to do something — as distinct from merely *suggesting* an action — are very rare, and the "why?" questions so common in our own culture are considered by Utkuhikhalingmiut (and, I think, by other Eskimos) to be an invasion of privacy. Again the inquisitive person may be rebuffed with: "*Ihumagijaga*". Another even more common rebuff is "I don't know", a response that has led some observers to believe that Eskimos tend to be uninterested in questions of motivation, and indeed in introspection and conjecture of any sort.³ I think this conclusion is mistaken. Spontaneous remarks made by Utkuhikhalingmiut (not to mention the songs recorded by Rasmussen throughout the Central Arctic) indicate both interest in, and sensitivity to, their own and other people's motivations and feelings. Indeed, their perceptiveness on the whole far exceeds that of many kabloonas.

¹See also the description of "nurturant" (*nakli*) methods of social control in the section on Affection, pages 18-19 above. A more detailed discussion of methods used by the Utkuhikhalingmiut to control inappropriate behavior will be found in the Conclusions of my Ph.D. thesis (1967).

²I have not as yet recorded any Eskimo terms for this concept or for "pragmatism", which will be discussed below. I do not know whether any such exist, nor whether the kinds of behavior that I describe under these rubrics form syndromes in the Utkuhikhalingmiut view as well as in our own.

³See, for example, Ray et al (1962: 106-46) and Honigsmann and Honigsmann (1959: 120 and 1965: 238-9). In many respects the Honigsmanns' characterization of Frobisher Bay Eskimo personality is similar to my description of the Utkuhikhalingmiut, but we differ in our interpretations of several traits, including this one.

The Utkuhikhalingmiut liking for autonomy takes another form, too – one that can be decidedly difficult for the anthropologist. To wit: an Utkuhikhalingmiutaq tends to see actions, his own and other people's, as regulated by personal will (*ihuma*), rather than by societal requirements. I encountered this tendency on several occasions. Once, for example, I was trying to discover the pattern in the Wednesday evening prayer services. It was clear that certain people always prayed aloud, whereas others were always silent, and I wanted to know what factor distinguished the one category from the other. I asked whether the missionaries had instructed just certain people to pray. "No; anybody who has a mind (*ihuma*) to pray can do so." I tried again: "Which people pray, then?" "Anybody who has a mind to pray." But when I looked more closely there was an obvious common denominator among those who prayed: they were all beyond the age of puberty and under the age of fifty. On another occasion I was trying to determine the patterns in name-avoidance, which is a common practice among the Utkuhikhalingmiut. One recurrent pattern that I had observed was that mothers-in-law and sons-in-law tended to avoid one another's names. However, this case was not as clear-cut as the case of those who prayed; by no means all mothers-in-law avoided the names of their sons-in-law, and on the other hand, people who were not so related *did* avoid each other's names. I asked about it: "Which people avoid each other's names?" "Anybody who had a mind to." "Whose name does a person avoid?" "Anybody's." "What about mothers-in-law and sons-in-law?" "Sometimes. If they want to. If they feel affectionate (*nakli*)." Willmott (1960:48-59) describes similar phenomena under the rubric of "flexibility", and the Honigmanns also describe a reluctance to generalize (1965:239), but their explanation for this characteristic is somewhat different from mine. Whereas they attribute it to a concrete, action-oriented style of thinking, I see it as a manifestation of independence – a dislike for being regulated by outside forces – together with the respect for unknown contingencies that was mentioned above (page 31). But these explanations are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

(f) Pragmatism

The other two patterns characteristic of a person with *ihuma*, which are important to discuss here, are pragmatism and fatalism, and I think these are closely related to each other in the Utkuhikhalingmiut case. Pragmatism, like independence, can have a variety of meanings. Here I am referring primarily to a flexibility in defining situations, which facilitates efficient utilization of the environment, adaptation to circumstance, and self-expression. The idea of flexibility in one sense has been implicit in the discussion of individual volition, above, and, as I have said, Willmott's article on the Eskimo of Port Harrison, P.Q. (1960: 48-59) gives a variety of other examples of flexibility in social relationships.

Another kind of flexibility that I think the Utkuhikhalingmiut consider characteristic of a person with *ihuma* is an adaptability to changing conditions in the physical environment. Gubser, paraphrasing an Alaskan Nunamiut informant, expresses this attitude very well (1965: 221-2). He says that a hunter who uses his mind will be careful to look at each new situation he encounters in its totality, trying to figure out what its requirements will be. If something unpleasant or unexpected happens he tries to figure out *why* it happened, so that in future he will be able to control its occurrence. Gubser comments on the quickness with which Nunamiut men adjust their conceptions when new evidence requires it, and on their ability to continue to learn from new experience throughout their lives. Much the same could be said about the Utkuhikhalingmiut. Though I never heard an Utkuhikhalingmiutaq phrase this attitude so explicitly, nevertheless the pragmatic behavior and the analytical attitude toward everyday experience that Gubser describes I observed consistently. And related, I think, to this quality is another, which is striking to a middle-class urban kabloona – namely a functional perception of the environment such that any object is easily seen as adaptable to very diverse uses. A primus key is converted into a

gunsight, the key of a dry milk can is made into a needle for sewing a dog harness, a nail becomes a barbed fishhook. The Eskimo reputation for being able to "make anything out of anything" is well deserved by the Utkuhikhalingmiut.

(g) Fatalism (*ajuqnaq*).

Paradoxically from a Euro-Canadian point of view, the strong value placed on the use of *ihuma*, which facilitates efficient flexibility in the solving of practical problems, is also associated in Utkuhikhalingmiut thought with an attitude of resignation to the inevitable, an Eskimo quality that is the bane of many kabloonas who have dealt with Eskimos.¹ This resignation is expressed by the word *ajuqnaq* – a concept that is generally considered highly characteristic of Eskimo thought. The base of the word, *ajuq*, refers to difficulty or impossibility inherent in situations and to inability in people. The form *ajuqnaq* means approximately "it cannot be helped", or, more precisely, "forces outside me make it impossible." The concept is usually interpreted as expressive of a fatalistic inclination to give up in the face of adversity (see, for example, de Coccola and King 1955:9 and *passim*.) To the kabloona way of thinking an Eskimo finds more difficulties "inevitable" than strictly necessary. Examples are cited in which an Eskimo lost in a snowstorm sits down and waits to die, instead of struggling to regain his bearings, or in which he fails to make the "all-out effort" that a kabloona would make to cache meat for a lean period, preferring to live for the moment and let the future take care of itself. In the first case it is a feeling of hopelessness that is implied: the goal is valued but striving for it is in vain. In the second case the feeling is one of insouciance: the value of the goal is denied; it is not worth striving for.

Both of these feelings can indeed be components of a fatalistic attitude and probably are characteristic of Eskimos under certain circumstances. But in my own experience with the Utkuhikhalingmiut it was a third sort of emotional overtone that seemed to me to be central to the *ajuqnaq* concept, namely a rational, pragmatic recognition of a situation that is seen as unpleasant but unavoidable: the lost goal does matter but since wailing will not help, it is childish to fret. The person who says calmly, "*Ajuqnaq*", instead of flying into a dither is using his *ihuma*; he is behaving like an adult. Rasmussen (1931: 190), speaking of the Netsilingmiut, puts it very well: "(I)t is a point of honor with them to preserve their equanimity One might almost say that they have the happy gift of being able to rest content with the knowledge of sorrow; they know that they have suffered but do not become emotional, merely making some quiet utterance such as that it could not be otherwise."

One hears the word *ajuqnaq* all the time, in all sorts of situations in which uncontrollable circumstances, including the will of others, interfere with one's own wishes or activities, and always it is said in a perfectly calm or mildly amused tone: when one spills one's only cup of tea or loses one's knife; when a sudden thaw brings the iglu dome heavily down on one's head during a sound sleep, or when one's neighbor evades a request for assistance.

The word occurs also in contexts in which the source of difficulty is one's own lack of skill or knowledge. People said it when they tried and failed to repeat English words that I pronounced for them; and a fourteen year old boy said it when he failed to perform successfully in the men's acrobatic games at Christmas time.

The moral code, too, makes allowance for situations that are *ajuqnaq*, that "can't be helped". The rule says that a person who has food or fuel of his own should not take the

¹The Honigmanns also associate "flexibility" with "passive resignation toward disaster" (1959: 120), though their concept of flexibility and their reasoning concerning the nature of the connection between the two attitudes do not altogether coincide with mine.

supplies of another, but if one has none — that is, if food or fuel is *ajuqnaq*, unavailable — then it is all right to take a little from another's cache, provided one tells the owner one has done so. Similarly, although it is ordinarily forbidden to work, travel, hunt, or fish on Sunday under pain of hell-fire, nevertheless, if someone is very ill, acutely hungry, or otherwise in extraordinary need, then the rule may be broken with impunity, because "it can't be helped" (*ajuqnaq*).

The excuse of *ajuqnaq* is rather extensively used in this moral context; people readily define situations as *ajuqnaq* when discomfort or inconvenience would result from scrupulous adherence to the rule. A woman who was too tired to clean a fox on Saturday might do it on Sunday, in order not to delay the start of a trading trip that had been planned for Monday, "because it can't be helped". And one spring Sunday when our kerosene supply was running low, the Anglican lay leader, thirsty for a cup of tea, gave me permission to go and collect moss with which to make a fire, "because it can't be helped".

The base *ajuq-* does not occur only in the form *ajuqnaq*, which refers to difficulties inherent in situations. It also occurs in forms that refer to inability in persons. People who failed to pronounce English words, and the boy who failed at somersaulting, instead of saying, "*Ajuqnaq*" (it can't be helped), might have said, "*Ajuqshaktunga*" (I can't do it, or I don't know how). The most "unable" (*ajuq*) creature of all is, of course, a baby. Kabloonas in an Eskimo environment are also "unable" (*ajuq*) in many ways. A state of inability or ignorance (*ajuq*) is one of the qualities in a person that arouses feelings of protective concern (*nakli*) in others. I was several times assured: "You are someone to be taken care of (*nakli*'d), because you *ajuq*." And the Utkuhikhalingmiut explain some of the benefits they receive from Canadian government personnel in the same way. The kabloona "leader", they say, gives them things because he feels protective (*nakli*) toward them. "He feels *nakli* toward us, and not toward kabloonas, because we are more *ajuq*." And I think what is meant is that it is more difficult for the Utkuhikhalingmiut than for the kabloonas to acquire the material goods necessary for survival.

CHAPTER 3

Summary and Conclusions

In conclusion I will summarize the most salient characteristics of Utkuhikhalingmiut self-presentation that emerge from the preceding data, together with the values and logic that appear to underlie these characteristics. The questions to be addressed are: (1) What is the ideal Utkuhikhalingmiut personality? (2) What kinds of behavior in reality characterize Utkuhikhalingmiut interpersonal style? (3) What meanings do these kinds of behavior have for the Utkuhikhalingmiut? That is, how do Utkuhikhalingmiut interpret the behavior?

The Ideal

It is apparent from the preceding data that two of the most important qualities for an Utkuhikhalingmiut adult to have are nurturance (*nakli*) and reason (*ihuma*). In terms of these qualities a man's worth is judged: he is a good person to the extent that he is nurturant, and adult to the extent that he is reasonable. Moreover, attitudes toward most of the other emotions discussed can be understood to a large extent in terms of attitudes toward these two central qualities.

Both nurturance (*nakli*) and reason (*ihuma*), as we have seen, are somewhat more broadly defined in Utkuhikhalingmiut thought than they are in English. To be considered nurturant a person must be attentive to the physical needs for warmth, food, and safety of everyone he encounters, offering services and goods which he sees are needed, and never refusing a request for help except on the grounds that his resources are limited and someone other than the petitioner is in greater need of help. He must also be emotionally supportive — happy and kind — or at least not destructive: not hostile, and not expressing unhappiness or anxiety. A calm and cheerful demeanor, as we have seen, is also indicative of a man who is governed by reason. Equanimity in the face of difficulties and frustrations, both social and physical, and moderation in all forms of self-expression, including the expression of positive feeling; voluntary conformance with approved modes of behavior; a realistic, pragmatic view of the environment and skill in one's daily activities; and high regard both for one's own autonomy and for the autonomy of others are all signs that one is a person of sense and reason.

The Reality

The reality in many ways often comes remarkably close to the ideal. People do tend to be nurturant, and to maintain a calm, cheerful, happy manner, even under conditions that would destroy the poise of the average kabloona. I emphasize, however, the word *manner*. Whereas the ideal, I *think*, calls for internal equilibrium and genuine warmth, rather than a mere appearance of these qualities, in reality, far more often than kabloonas tend to realize, the warm cheer is a carefully cultivated façade, by no means as spontaneous as it looks. It covers feelings of hostility, unhappiness, and in general any unpleasant emotion that may be felt. Socially and personally unacceptable feelings are, as I have said, suppressed with a success remarkable to the Euro-Canadian observer; and, I believe, in some cases they may be repressed, though evidence for the latter statement is, of course, equivocal.

In any case, such feelings exist, and anxiety about them exists, and these facts give rise to a variety of characteristic defenses. Among the most noteworthy of these are a warm, obliging demeanor; laughter; and withdrawal of various sorts. I do not in the least imply that these behaviors are *exclusively* defensive; they have positive roots as well in a remarkably kindly child-rearing, and it is obvious that obligingness and laughter may occur in happy contexts as well as unhappy ones. Withdrawal may not necessarily betoken distress either, as the Honigmanns have perceptively observed with regard to the Frobisher Bay Eskimo's extreme capacity to concentrate (1965: 236). But it is the defensive aspect of these behaviors that I have chosen to emphasize here.

The use of laughter and joking to express, and simultaneously to deny, hostility and fear has been discussed at some length in the section on Humor. We have seen that children are explicitly taught to convert anger into amusement, and that laughter is highly valued as an indication that a person is a "happy person", one of peaceful and friendly disposition who is unfrightening because he does not feel hostile. I have interpreted obligingness, especially when shown to strangers and other outsiders and to delinquent Utkuhikhalingmiut, partly in the same terms—as a cover for, and defense against, anger and fear. To summarize more specifically, I think this considerate behavior can have one or more of the following meanings in particular situations: (1) First, of course, it expresses the all-important value of nurturance, or a semblance thereof, and I think it is probably intended to convey this meaning — 'I am a good person' — in all the situations in which it occurs. In this way it dispels the other person's fear (*ilira*) of being unkindly treated or refused. As the Utkuhikhalingmiut put it: "Don't be afraid (*ilira*) to ask; we won't refuse; we are not frightening people" (*iliranaittugut*). (2) By the same logic, obligingness may in some cases be used to forestall hostility and aggressive behavior. If a person is friendly, well-meaning, and unfrightening, he will not provoke attack. As we shall see (page 52, below) fear is a not uncommon motive behind Eskimo attacks on other people. And that obligingness can express fear is indicated by the statement of an Utkuhikhalingmiut informant to the effect that if one is afraid of another person one will agree with him. (3) But obligingness can also express hostility in an inverted way. Inversions of this kind have been noted by other observers of Eskimos, too; it is not unusual to find a social offender treated with exaggerated consideration and concern, even in situations where fear seems unlikely to be an important motive.¹

Withdrawal, like obligingness, may express a variety of feelings. I was struck, in fact, by the *number* of uncomfortable feelings that the Utkuhikhalingmiut do express in this way: cold, hunger, fatigue, grief, hostility, fear and anxiety, loneliness, shyness — the whole gamut of unpleasant emotion and physical sensation. It is also one of the commonest responses to the unacceptable behavior of other people. Under various circumstances withdrawal may take different forms. When it occurs in response to the undesirable behavior of others it may consist in ignoring the bad behavior, passively resisting or evading an untoward demand, refusing (always with polite excuses) to accept offers of hospitality or assistance from the offender, physically leaving the scene, or, in extreme cases, ostracizing the delinquent. Ostracism is extremely subtle in form. The offender, though never greeted with outright silence, is forced to take all of the initiative in his relationships with other people; the latter will respond with an appearance of graciousness to his overtures but will rarely or never make overtures to *him*. As an expression of a person's own unpleasant

¹I have illustrated this point with an anecdote from Freuchen (1961: 155-60) in the section on Affection, page 19; and conversations with Jonathan Jenness (1966) re: Alaskan Eskimos from the Bethel area, and with Milton Freeman (1967) re: Grise Fiord also support the observation. With regard to both Grise Fiord and James Bay Eskimos Milton Freeman mentioned the reverse kind of inversion, as well. His example was as follows. If A is scolding B, and C feels sympathetic with the victim, B, he (C) will appear to take A's side and scold B even harder than A does. This indicates to B and to the rest of the world that C is really on his side. However, I did not notice this kind of behavior among the Utkuhikhalingmiut perhaps because scolding so rarely occurred.

feelings, withdrawal may again consist in silence, in physical departure from the scene, or (in rare cases) in refusal of proffered food or company. It may also take the form of lethargy or sleepiness – sometimes expressed in a gesture very characteristic of Utkuhikhalingmiut, and I think, of other Eskimos as well. The unhappy (or cold, or tired or hungry) person retreats into his parka in such a way that his face is largely concealed in the depths of his hood, and his arms are withdrawn from the roomy sleeves and wrapped around his body underneath the parka.

All of these kinds of behavior are simultaneously defenses against unpleasant feelings and expressions of them. I have not given a complete catalog of the defensive and expressive behaviors that I observed among the Utkuhikhalingmiut but have concentrated on describing a few that seem especially characteristic.¹ Much of the above behavior, of course, will be familiar to the Euro-Canadian reader from his own culture, and therefore it may be worthwhile at this juncture to point out a major difference between the expressive patterns of the two cultures, Euro-Canadian and Utkuhikhalingmiut. In the latter culture direct confrontation between antagonists is much, much rarer than in our culture. During the seventeen months I spent in Chantrey Inlet I never heard an argument and never saw a physical fight, nor did I ever hear of the occurrence of either. On two or three occasions a parent did speak sharply to a child, or a husband to a wife; and on two occasions a person was rumored to have struck another (a mentally subnormal mother was said to have slapped her adolescent daughter and an unusually irritable husband was thought to have hit his wife), but in none of these cases, real or rumored, did the victim talk or strike back. Moreover, it is significant, I think, that the rumor concerning the irritable husband was circulated as an explanation for the subsequent serious illness of his wife. That a slap – a relatively minor attack in our view – is thought to have such far-reaching effects clearly shows how seriously aggression is regarded. Gossip and other subtle and indirect forms of retaliation were well-known, but in general, the response to direct aggression was never direct counter-aggression. The most openly, physically aggressive behavior I observed – apart from hunting, of course – was dog-beating, and that was, obviously, not directed at human beings.

So far we have been discussing the Utkuhikhalingmiuts' methods of coping with undesirable feelings and behavior. The Utkuhikhalingmiut have other characteristic behavioral and attitudinal patterns, too, which are related to the central values of nurturance and reason and the concomitant proscription of hostility. I shall briefly recapitulate what I have said in Chapter II concerning three characteristics or syndromes, which seem to me fundamental to an understanding of Utkuhikhalingmiut interpersonal style.

First is the ambivalence toward affection (*nakli*) which was discussed in the section on Affection. We have seen that members of an Utkuhikhalingmiut *ilammariigiit* tend to feel strong nurturant affection (*nakli*) for one another, but that in spite of the high value placed on such affection, the Utkuhikhalingmiut prefer moderation in this as in other feelings. It is not good to love (*nakli*) too much, because then separation from the loved person is painful. And one does not wish to be loved (*nakli'd*) too much either, because of the connotations of pitiableness and of personal inadequacy that are attached to a need for nurturance. Consonant with these attitudes is the fact that Utkuhikhalingmiut are much less demonstrative with one another than we are, even when they love one another deeply. Only children under the age of three or so are kissed, caressed, and held. Demonstrativeness among adults is described as unpleasant (*hujuijaq*). Older children and adults show and are shown affection in ways that are sometimes too subtle for kabloonas to notice – in glances, in small attentions and services, and in quick anticipation of their needs. The absence of

¹A fuller, though still by no means a complete account, can be found in my Ph.D. thesis (1967).

physical demonstrativeness and verbal endearments, and the embarrassment about loving and being loved too much, have sometimes given kabloona observers the mistaken impression that Eskimo adults (especially husbands and wives) do not feel strong affection for one another. I think in addition to the subtle expressions of concern that I have described, good evidence for the existence of affection lies in the salience of the experience of loneliness — that is, unhappiness in the absence of the warm, nurturant people who constitute one's *ilammarigiit*. Further evidence is the intensity of the grief that is felt on the death of a loved person — grief expressed not in wails and tears but in silent withdrawal — and occasionally in the ultimate withdrawal: suicide.¹

The second syndrome to be discussed centers on fear of hostility and aggression — a fear that is not surprising in a people who maintain such stringent controls on the expression of hostility as the Utkuhikhalingmiut do. The fear takes several forms. One is a tendency to read hostility into almost any withdrawal or unsociable — not necessarily overtly *anti-social* — act, unless there is strong evidence to the contrary. There is also an assumption that when hostility *is* expressed it is a permanent, or at least a very long-lasting, feeling — except in the cases of children and other people who lack reason (*ihumaqittuq*), like idiots and kabloonas. Moreover, as we have seen, the Utkuhikhalingmiut believe that when the hostility is of the long-lasting variety, due to too much thinking (*ihumaquqtuuq*), the force of the hostile thought alone can kill the person brooded about. I have suggested that the anticipation of hostility and the desire to allay it by reassuring the other person that he has no reason for either anger or fear may be one factor underlying the warm, obliging face that Utkuhikhalingmiut (and other Eskimos) present to the public. In the past, at least, an *extreme* fear of aggression has been the motive behind more than one recorded murder or attempted murder (Rasmussen 1932: 19-21; de Cocola and King 1955: 205). Indeed, Rasmussen (1931: 203) implies that in his day this was an extremely common motive for murder. If this is so, then the Utkuhikhalingmiut have a realistic reason for wishing to reassure others that they have nothing to fear.

The fear of hostility takes other, milder forms, too. I have in mind a sensitivity to criticism and consequent reluctance to criticize, and an anxiety about refusing requests and being refused, both of which are characteristic of Utkuhikhalingmiut. We have seen that critical remarks are very rarely made without the saving addendum, *takhaungngiituq* or *takhaa*: "I'm joking", and that if ever the humorous nature of the remark is *not* made explicit, it is very likely to be taken as hostile. We have seen, too, that Utkuhikhalingmiut tend to be reluctant to make requests of people outside their own *ilammarigiit* for fear of being refused, but that in actual fact, a person will rarely refuse a request directly, for fear of being thought unkind and unnurturant, and perhaps arousing resentment. Requests of people outside the family are often made in a most indirect manner, which obviates the necessity for refusal; both parties can simply pretend the request was not made — another instance of the tendency to avoid confrontation, which has been discussed. Most often, requests are complied with, and, as I have said, when it *is* necessary to refuse, the refusal is often phrased in terms of concern for the wants of some other more needy person. Interestingly, there seems to be little fear of witchcraft, other than the fear of hostile brooding that I have mentioned; and I was not aware of much fear of evil-working spirits (*tunngait*), either, though one might expect both fears to follow from stringent prohibitions on the *direct* expression of hostility. It is possible, however, that both fears did exist, prior to the introduction of Christianity, and that Christianity has lessened them; the Utkuhikhalingmiut do say that their fear of spirits has abated since they learned about the superior power of Jesus. However, it is also possible that fear of evil powers still exists to a greater extent than I was aware of, due to Utkuhikhalingmiut reticence and my linguistic limitations.

¹For a contrasting view of Eskimo capacity for affection, based on Rorschach protocols, see Ferguson (1962: 80-86).

The final characteristic that I would review here briefly because of its relevance for relations with Euro-Canadians is the dislike of being questioned. I have suggested that this attitude is related to attitudes concerning reason, mind, will (*ihuma*). Three kinds of question are particularly unwelcome: those concerning motivation (one's own and other people's); the nature of other people's activities; and the future. Inquiry into these areas is likely to be met with evasive – and often very innocent-sounding – professions of ignorance: “I don't know,” or “I just thought it,” “it is my will” (or “my opinion”) (*ihumagijaga*; *ihumamnuk*). The difficulty of eliciting from Eskimos generalizations, hypothetical statements, and observations concerning motivation has been noted frequently (see, for example, the references cited in the section on Reason, pages 44 and 45), but, as we have seen, kabloonas observers tend to explain these traits in terms of the Eskimos' action-orientation and preoccupation with concrete reality. I have suggested that although this may indeed be a factor in some cases, there are also other reasons for evasiveness on these subjects. In the case of questions about motivation, respect for personal privacy and autonomy, one's own and other people's, is an important factor. No one, even a child, ought to have to explain his actions to anyone unless he chooses to do so, and to inquire is to interfere. “Why?” is the rudest of questions; it has, not surprisingly, a critical, even hostile, connotation which may be translated as, “What on earth do you mean by doing (or thinking) a thing like that!”

Another aspect of the respect for autonomy is related to the difficulty in eliciting generalizations concerning people's behavior. I have mentioned that Utkuhikhalingmiut tend to see human actions as governed by individual volition rather than by custom or social “rules”. People are seen very much as *individuals* with different motives and ways of acting.

Attempts to elicit generalizations concerning the behavior or thoughts of other people are also blocked by another value, the rational, cautious attitude that makes a person seek to take into consideration all possible contingencies and refuse to make flat statements when aware that the situation contains unknowns. My Alaskan experience provides an example of this attitude. I asked a child who had just left her house: “Is your mother at home?” “I don't know.” “Was she at home when you left the house?” “Yes.” Obviously, her mother might have left the house, too, in the meantime; how could the child *know* that the woman was still at home? Such questions are not only rude but silly; if one wants to know something, one should use one's eyes, and Utkuhikhalingmiut children are taught to do just that. Parents simply greet childish questions with silence or laughter, until the child learns to find out for himself.

This same attitude of rational caution and respect for the unknown accounts for the dislike of questions pertaining to future or hypothetical events. Children and kabloonas are laughed at for their brash pronouncements about the future – even the immediate future: “tomorrow the men will come back from Gjoa Haven;” “I am going fishing on Monday.” So often we are wrong; something interferes with our plans or we change our minds. A kabloona living in the midst of Eskimo caution quickly learns to feel very foolish as he begins to notice the skeptical eyes and half-smiles that greet his careless predictions and generalizations, and to hear the amused remarks that are made about the witlessness (*ihumaqittuq*) of other people who make such careless statements.

In conclusion, let me re-emphasize that this report has not attempted to give a complete picture of Utkuhikhalingmiut personality, or even to describe completely their emotional behavior. Many interesting problems concerning the genesis, the structural correlates, and the personal manipulation of this behavior remain unexplored. What I have done is to select for analysis a few behavior patterns and attitudes that seem to me to be fundamental to the way the Utkuhikhalingmiut present themselves to one another and to the outside world. These patterns serve as lenses through which the Utkuhikhalingmiut

perceive the kabloona world. And kabloonas in turn view these Eskimo patterns through the lenses of their own habitual behavior and attitudes. As a result of the differences in these perspectives kabloonas tend to consider Eskimos "childish" in certain respects, as Eskimos in turn tend to consider us "childish". It is my hope that by exposing some of the logic underlying Utkuhikhalingmiut behavior this analysis may help to narrow the gap between the two perceptions, Eskimo and kabloona. Obviously, in many respects my observations parallel those of others. In other respects they diverge, or the explanations that I have proffered diverge. I have not undertaken a careful survey of similarities and differences, either in the behavior of different Eskimo groups as they are described in the literature, or in the analyses that have been made of this behavior, but I have, I hope, contributed to the groundwork that will enable such a comparison to be made in the future.

APPENDIX

NOTES ON KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AND FAMILY COMPOSITION

SUMMARY OF PRINCIPLES INHERENT IN THE CONSANGUINEAL TERMINOLOGY

Ego's Generation:

Same-sex siblings are distinguished from cousins.

Same-sex siblings are distinguished from each other on the basis of age relative to ego: older or younger.

Male and female speakers use the same terms for siblings of their own sex, but different terms for cross-sex siblings.

Cross-sex siblings are classed with all cross-sex cousins.

Same-sex parallel cousins are distinguished from each other and from same-sex cross cousins.

Same-sex cross cousins are *not* distinguished from each other.

Note:

The term for younger same-sex sibling (*nukak*) also may refer to siblings generically when used in the special reciprocal-plural form, *nukariit*: "those who are siblings or brothers to each other."

The term used for same-sex cross cousin (*illu*) may be used as an alternative term for *any* genealogical or classificatory cross or parallel cousin of either sex, though not for a sibling. Ordinarily, however, the term *illu* is only used for genealogical cross cousins of ego's sex and for classificatory cross and parallel cousins of ego's sex. This term and the cross-sex sibling/cousin term (*naiak* for a male speaker and *ani* for a female speaker) are used for cousins of cousins of cousins indefinitely, as convenient.

First Ascending Generation:

There are separate terms for mother, father, and all four types of aunts and uncles.

The uncle and aunt terms are extended to the cousins (*illu*) of uncles and aunts indefinitely, as convenient.

Second and Third Ascending Generations:

Only sex and generation are distinguished.

The terms are extended as convenient to cousins (*illu*) of relatives in these generations.

First Descending Generation:

Lineal relatives (son and daughter) are distinguished by sex.

Children of siblings and of cousins are classed together. They are not distinguished by their own sex, but are distinguished according to the sex of the relative in ego's generation (sibling or cousin) who links them to ego.¹

The terms used for collateral relatives in this generation differ according to whether ego is male or female.

The niece and nephew terms are, like other collateral terms, extended indefinitely to cousins (*illu*) of genealogical relatives in this generation.

The alternative term for son (*nutarek*) also means "child", generically.

Second and Third Descending Generations:

Generation only is distinguished.

Persons of ego's sex in the third ascending generation may, optionally, be merged with all persons, regardless of sex, in the third descending generation.

Again, the terms are extended indefinitely to cousins (*illu*) or relatives in this generation.

SUMMARY OF PRINCIPLES INHERENT IN THE AFFINAL TERMINOLOGY

Ego's consanguines' spouses and ego's spouse's consanguines will be treated together because in some instances these are classed together.

Ego's Generation:

A. Lineal affines:

There are separate terms for male and female spouses: *ui* and *nuliaq* respectively.

Cross-sex affines, both the spouses of ego's same-sex siblings and the cross-sex siblings of ego's spouse, are called by one term: *aik*.

Same-sex affines are distinguished according to whether they are spouses of ego's siblings or siblings of ego's spouse. The former, but not the latter, are further distinguished according to whether the speaker (and thus the affine) is male or female. Thus, a man's sister's husband is *ningauk*, and a woman's brother's wife is *ukkuak*. A spouse's sibling who is of the same sex as ego is *hakiak*, whether the speaker is male or female.

The spouses of ego's spouse's cross-sex siblings (*i.e.*, a man's WiSiHu or a woman's HuBrWi) are called by terms which have the same bases as the terms for ego's same-sex siblings, and like the latter are distinguished by age relative to ego. In other words:

Elder same-sex sibling: *angajuk*

Spouse of ego's spouse's elder same sex sibling: *angajunnngoq*

¹David Damas (1963:36) describes the same principle of sex-linkage in the Igluligmiut terminology. The latter system is very similar throughout, though not identical, to that of the Utkuhikhalingmiut (see Damas, figures 5 and 6, pp. 37 and 38).

Younger same-sex sibling: *nukak*

Spouse of ego's spouse's younger same-sex sibling: *nukaunngoq*

Note that the spouses of all four of these are *aik*.

B. Collateral affines:

Almost no collateral affines are recognized (kin-termed) in ego's generation. The sole exception is the spouse of ego's same-sex cousin who is called by the appropriate cross-sex cousin term: *naiak* when the speaker is male, *ani* when the speaker is female. I was told that this rule applies "when we marry our cousins." No alternative term is known for use in cases when the spouse is not a cousin.

First Ascending Generation:

A. Lineal affines:

Spouse's parents are both called by one term: *hakiik*.

B. Collateral affines:

The siblings of spouse's parents are called by a term, *hakivak*, which is related both to the term for spouse's parents, *hakiik*, and to the term *hakiak* (spouse's sibling of same sex as ego).

There are no terms for the husbands of female consanguines in this generation. The wives of males consanguines are called *anaana*, the term for "mother", or alternatively, *aqnaqshak*.¹

Second and Third Ascending Generations:

Lineal and collateral affines:

The same term, *hakivak*, which is used for the siblings of ego's spouse's parents is also used for the parents of the latter – that is, for all spouse's consanguines in this generation. No terms were recorded for spouse's consanguines in the third ascending generation.

The spouses of ego's own consanguines in these generations are assimilated to consanguineal relationship, *i.e.*, they are called by grandparent and great-grandparent terms.

First and Second Descending Generations:

Lineal and collateral affines:

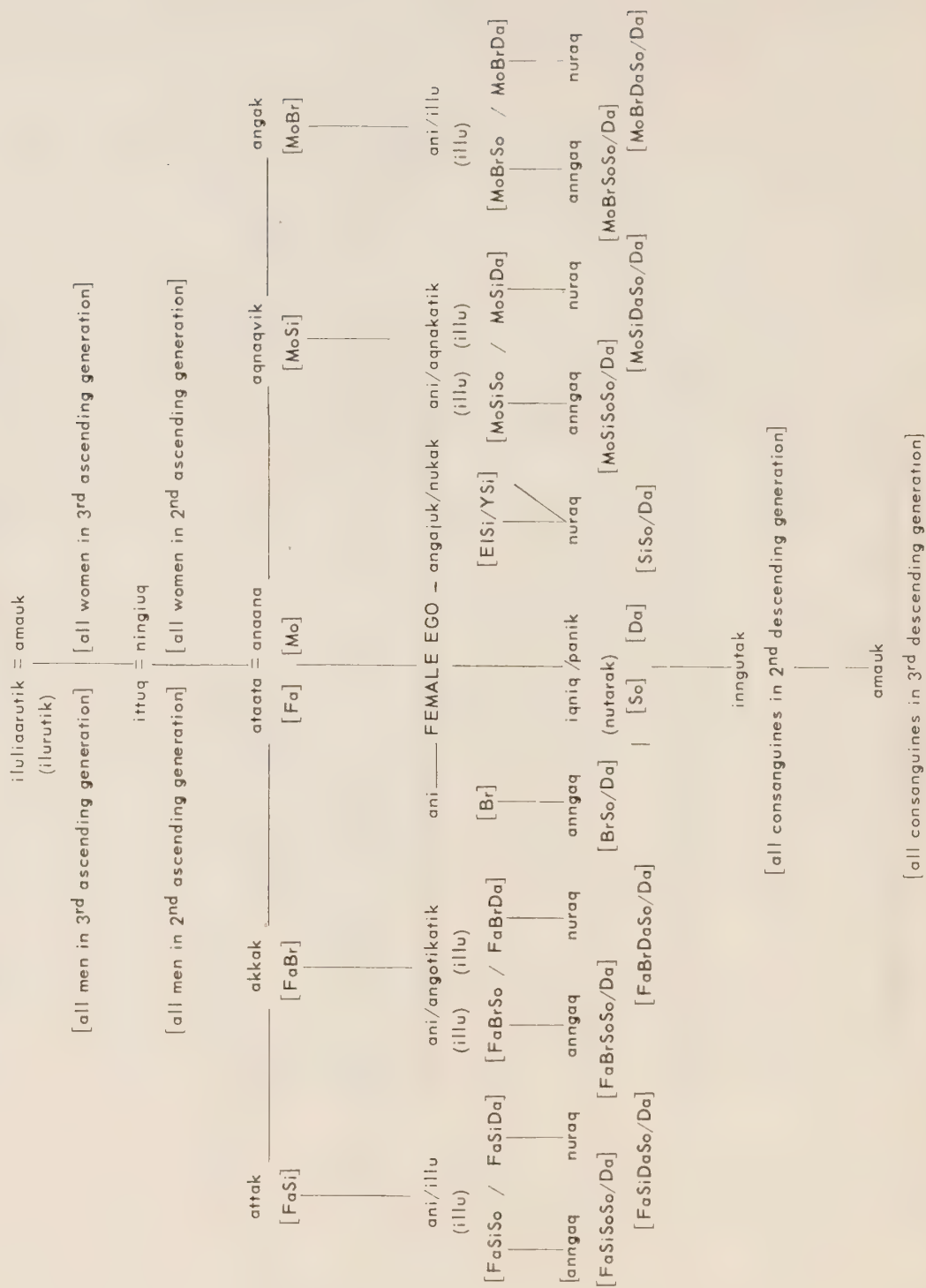
The children of spouse's siblings are called by quasi-consanguineal terms, that is, by the terms for "son" and "daughter" with the addition of the postbase *-shak*. And the grandchildren of spouse's siblings are called by the consanguineal term "grandchild" without any modifying postbase.

The spouses of ego's children are called by the same terms used for the spouses of his siblings: *ningauk* if the affine is male, *ukkuak* if the affine is female.

¹*Aqnaq* means "woman"; the postbase *-shak* designates adoptive relatives among the Iglulik Eskimos (Damas 1963:43) and *maq* do so also among the Utkuhikhalingmiut, but my data on this are inadequate.

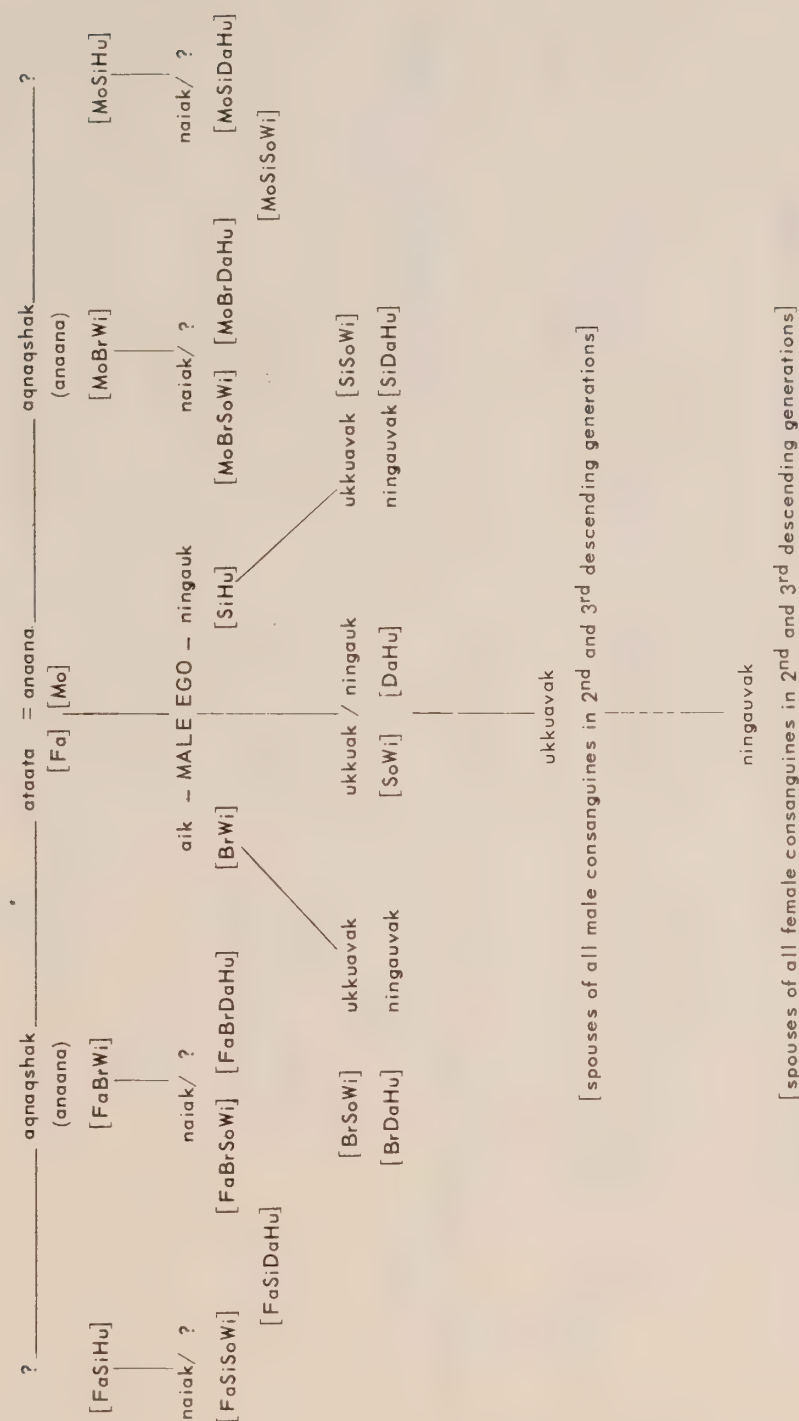
All other in-marrying men and women in the descending generations are called by terms which have the same bases as the sibling-in-law/ child-in-law terms: *ningauvak* if the affine is male; *ukkuavak* if the affine is female. These two terms apply to the spouses of the children and children's children of ego's spouse's siblings, to the spouses of ego's siblings, and to the spouses of their offspring in both second and third descending generations.

CHART 1b CONSANGUINEAL KINSHIP TERMS: FEMALE SPEAKER¹



¹ Terms of address and reference are the same.

CHART IIa
AFFINAL KINSHIP TERMS: CONSANGUINE'S SPOUSES: MALE SPEAKER



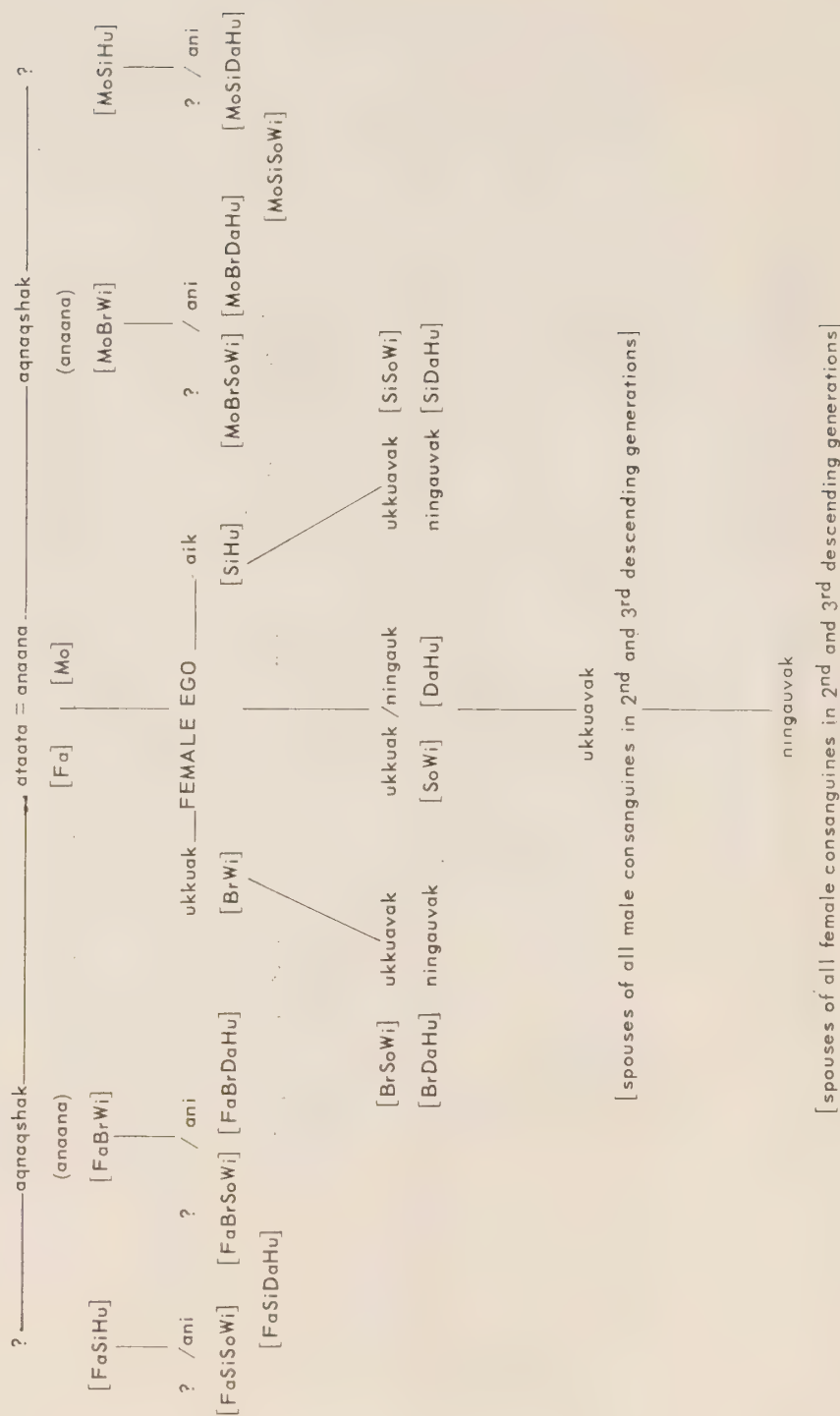


CHART IIc AFFINAL KINSHIP TERMS: SPOUSE'S CONSANGUINES: MALE SPEAKER

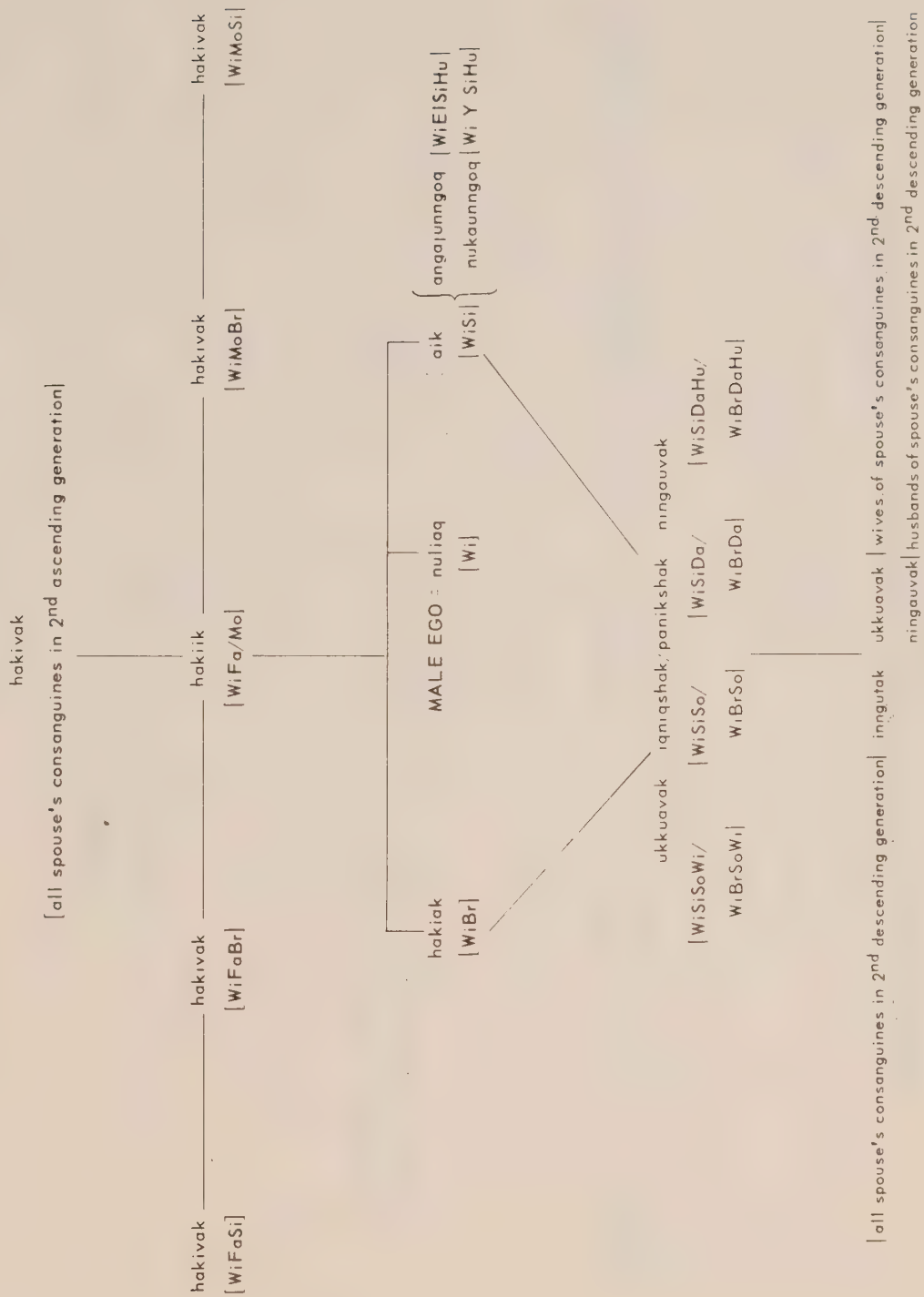


CHART IIId
AFFINAL KINSHIP TERMS: SPOUSE'S CONSANGUINES: FEMALE SPEAKER

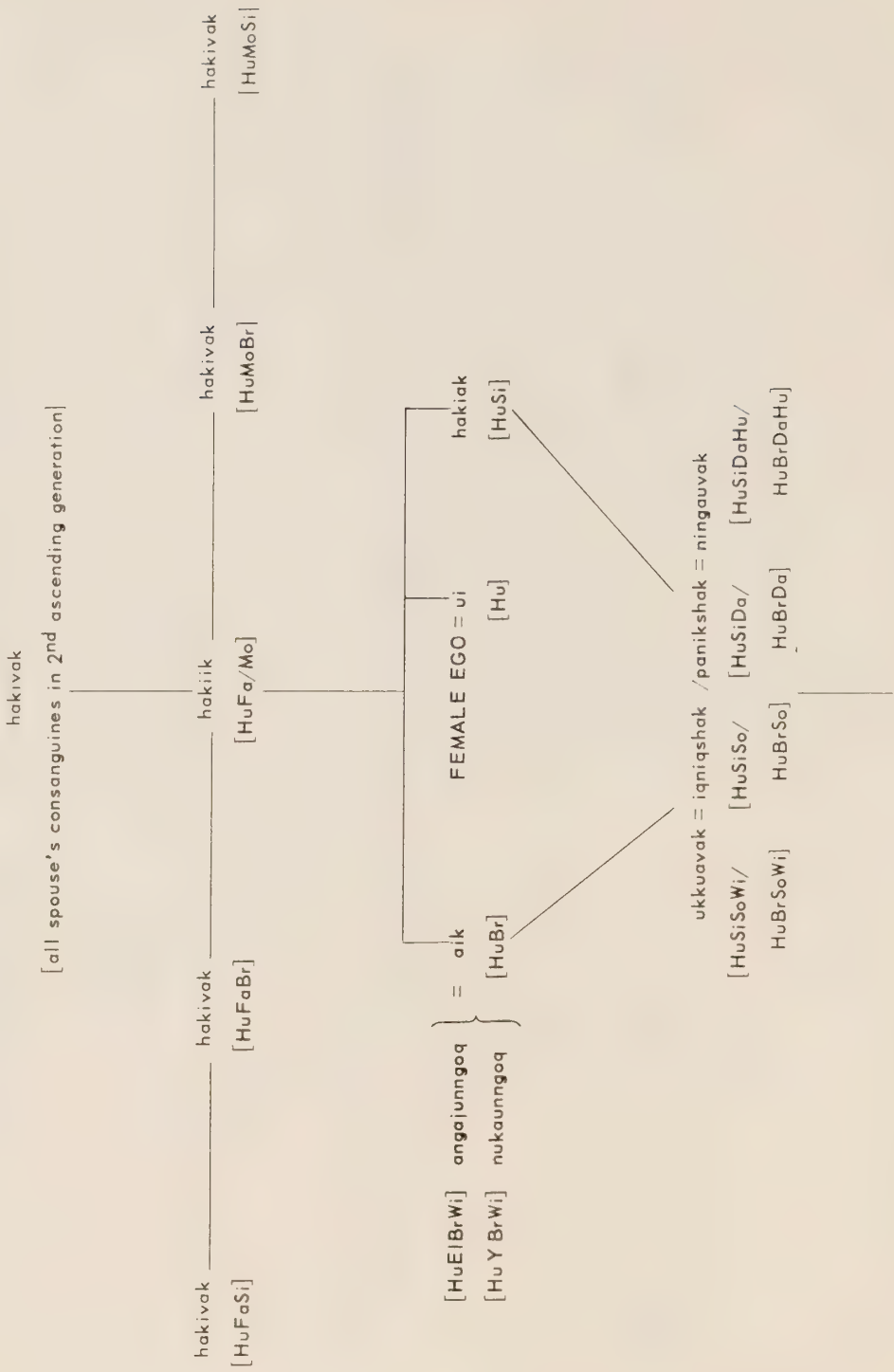
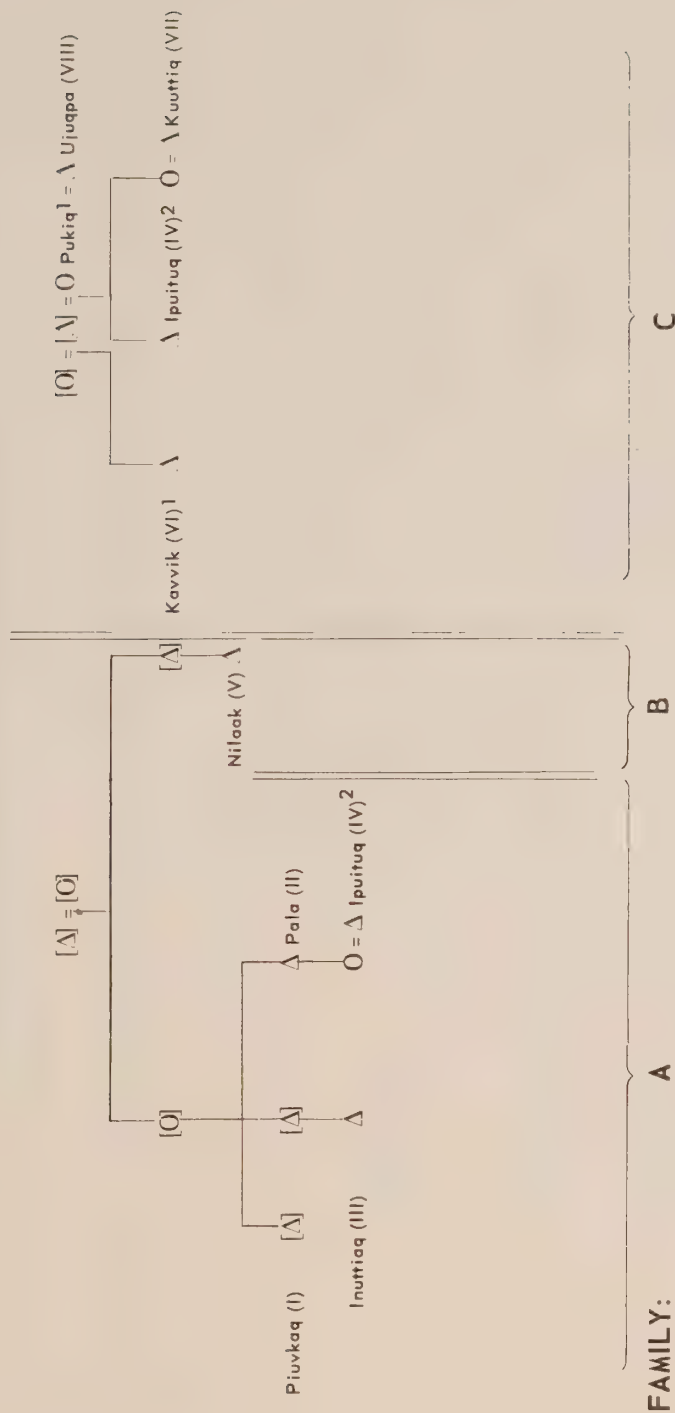


CHART III: EXTENDED FAMILY DIVISIONS



Notes:

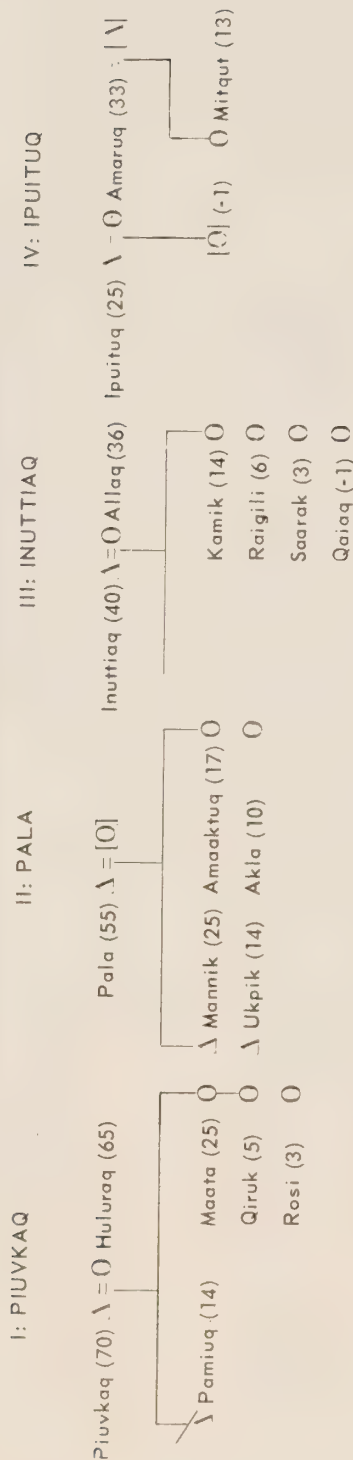
[] means deceased.

Roman numerals refer to households in Chart IV

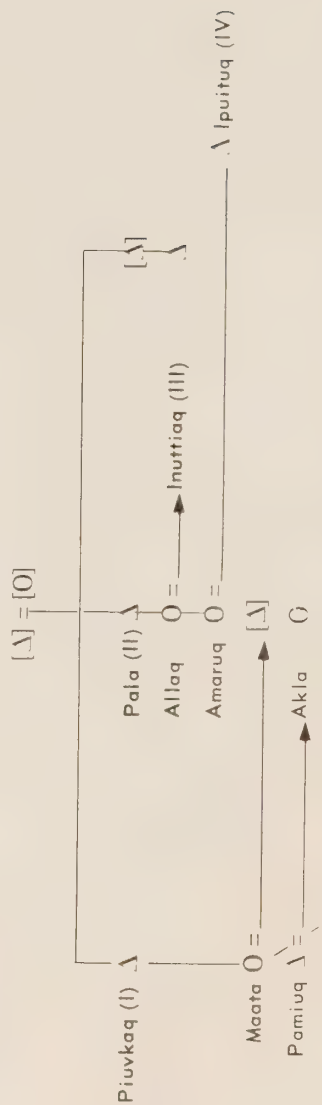
¹ Kavvik (VI) and Pukia were betrothed as children, but Pukia was stolen by Kavvik's father.

² Ipuituq (IV) is a member of two families: A and C.

CHART IV HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION OF EXTENDED FAMILIES



Households I, II, III, and IV constitute one extended family (A). They are related as follows:



Notes:

The households shown here constituted independent dwelling units during much of the period between August 1963 and January 1965, but this was by no means a fixed situation. The major shifts in the composition of dwelling units during this period are shown in Chart VI.

The ages given in parentheses are approximate.

Only family members whom I knew and who appear in the thesis are listed. Those who were absent or deceased are not shown, except where necessary to show lines of descent or connection.

[] means deceased.

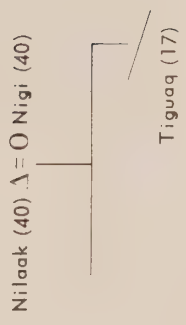
— means betrothed.

— means that the person whose name appears below the diagonal slash is an adopted child.

(chart continued)

CHART IV
HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION OF EXTENDED FAMILIES

V: NILAAK



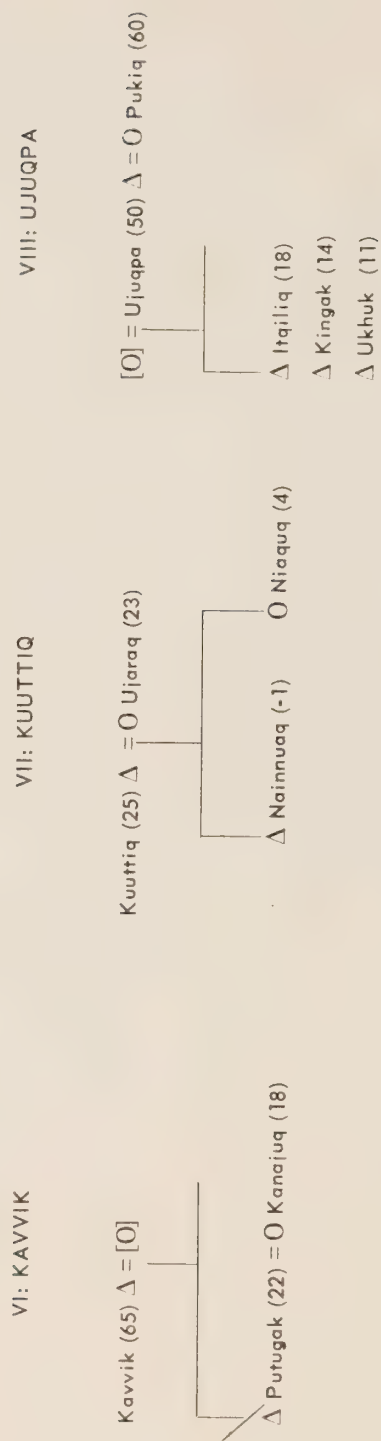
This is the only household in extended family B.¹

Notes:

¹ Extended family letters refer to Chart III.

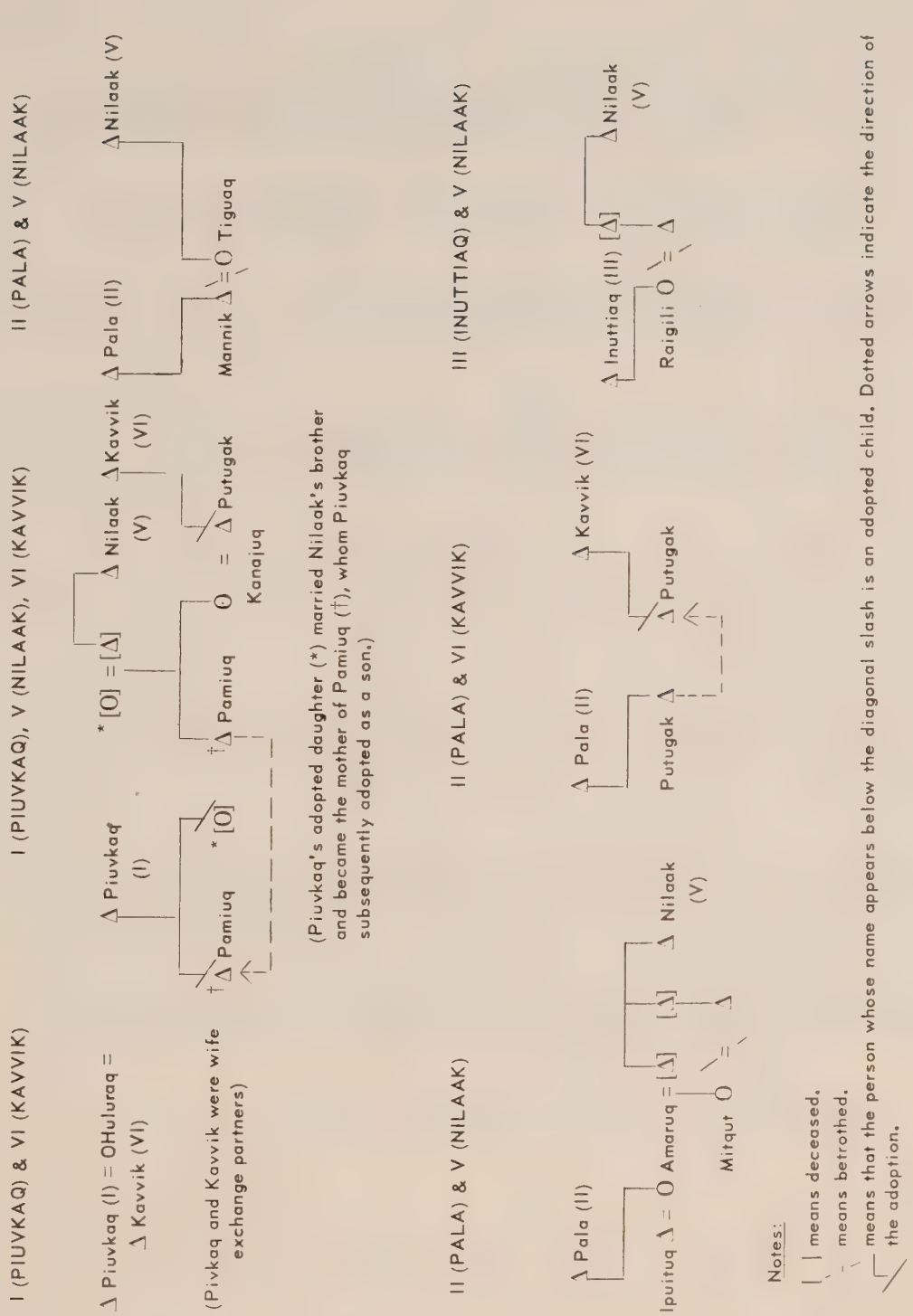
(chart continued)

CHART IV HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION OF EXTENDED FAMILIES



Households VI, VII, VIII (and IV) constitute one extended family (C). Their interrelationships appear on Chart III.

CHART V HOUSEHOLD INTERRELATIONSHIPS THAT CROSS EXTENDED FAMILY LINES



**CHART VI: MAJOR SHIFTS IN HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION
AUGUST 1963-JANUARY 1965¹**

August 1963	Sept.-Oct. 1963	Nov. 1963- Mar. 1964	Mar.-Apr. 1964	Apr.-May 1964	June 1964
I	I	I	--2	--	--
II	II-III-IV	II-IV	II	II	II
III		III	III	III	III
IV					IV? ³
V	V	V	V	V	V
VI	VI	VI	VI	VI-IV	VI?
VII	VII	VII	VII-IV	VII	VII
VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII
July 1964	August 1964	Aug.-Sept. 1964 ⁴	Sept.-Oct. 1964	Nov. 1964- Jan. 1965	
--	--	--	--	--	
II	II-IV	II	II-IV	II-III-IV	
III	III	III-IV	III		
IV? ³					
V	V	V	V	V	
VI?	VI	VI	VI	VI	
VII	VII	VII	VII	?	
VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	?	

¹ Numerals are those of households shown on preceding charts. Hyphenated numerals indicate joint households. All others are independent dwelling units. The sequence of camps runs across the page from left to right.

² This household dissolved. See the text, p. 1, for details.

³ IV and VI may possibly have shared a joint household in these two camps; they were camped together at a distant spot which I did not visit.

⁴ This is the autumn caribou hunting camp

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